

The Anglican Communion

1970
The Anglican Communion
A Survey of its History, Government and Work

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THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

PAST AND FUTURE



by Gerald Ellison
BISHOP OF CHESTER

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THESE LECTURES ARE DEDICATED TO
NEIL C. AND MARGARET K. McMATH,
THROUGH WHOSE GENEROSITY
THEY WERE MADE POSSIBLE,
BY THEIR AUTHOR,
GERALD ELLISON,
BISHOP OF CHESTER

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T

I must place on record my gratitude to the many people who made these lectures possible; to Bishop Emrich, for his invitation and constant encouragement; to the Reverend Canon Irwin Johnson and to his staff at St. John's, Detroit, for their many acts of kindness; to my generous hosts in Detroit, Mr. and Mrs. John Ford; to my secretary, Miss Helen Bowers; to the many writers upon whom I have relied for information and guidance; and to the Dean of York and Canon G. W. Briggs for the prayers which were used after each lecture, taken from their *Daily Prayer*. To them all I offer my heartfelt thanks.

G.E.

Foreword

THROUGH the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Neil C. McMath, an annual lectureship, named by a special committee *The McMath Lectures*, has been established in the Diocese of Michigan. Because of this gift there will be given to the whole Church over the years a series of books to deepen our understanding and faith.

These lectures, delivered by the Bishop of Chester, on the occasion of the centennial of St. John's Church, Detroit, are the first in this series. The reader will agree, I think, that we need more such books if our Anglican Communion is to grow in the unity and depth God wills for it. Although it is not easy to sketch a long period of history or the marks of a world-wide Church in a few pages—to paint, that is, with great strokes of the brush—Bishop Ellison has done this with accuracy and beauty.

In clear language he has shown the great marks of our growing Communion: its love of, and loyalty to, the Holy Scriptures; its reformed character and its unbroken continuity in the Catholic ages; its freedom, giving to clergy and laity their proper place in the affairs of Christ's Church; its

gracious, and not doctrinaire, spirit. And, making the whole live, the lectures have about them the fine quality of personal witness and deep devotion. It is my opinion that this small book will not only commend itself to individuals, but will be used also for class study and confirmation instruction in parishes and missions throughout the Church.

RICHARD S. EMRICH
Bishop of Michigan

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Introduction

WHEN, at the Lambeth Conference in 1958, Bishop Emrich did me the honor of inviting me to deliver the first series of McMath Lectures, I warned him that I make no pretensions to profound learning, and that he could not expect of me a work of original scholarship. Despite this protestation he was good enough to press his invitation, and I, for my part, am deeply grateful to him for his perseverance.

I would ask the reader to bear in mind the purpose of the lectures and to try to re-create the setting in which they were delivered. My objective was to express in a very small compass the splendor of the Anglican Communion in its Catholic and Reformed tradition. I was speaking to the man and woman in the pew and seeking to convey to them both the joy and the responsibility of their membership in that part of the Catholic Church to which they have given their loyalty.

The lectures were delivered on five consecutive week-days in April 1959, in the Church of St. John, Detroit. They were preceded by a short service conducted by the local clergy and their choirs. I prefaced the lecture on the first evening with the following words:

"Before we embark on our survey of the character and destiny of the Communion to which we belong, there are three preliminary remarks which it is desirable to make, and which I would ask you to keep in mind during the course of these lectures.

"First, though it is the Anglican Communion which is our subject, I must of necessity speak often of the Church of England, and I trust I may do so without irritating you or embarrassing myself. I must do so, both because my personal experience and knowledge is for the most part confined to that branch of the Anglican Communion which is in England; and also because it is the Church of England which is substantially the mother of us all. It is of course one of our main objectives in these lectures to trace the working of Divine Providence in extending the Church from its narrow insular boundaries to become a world-wide fellowship. But our understanding of that fellowship today, and its future tomorrow, must largely depend upon the way we appreciate the character of the roots which have provided, and still in some measure provide, the nourishment which is needed. Forgive me, therefore, if I occupy what may appear to you to be undue time on the development of the Church in England. For this is the rock from which we are all hewn.

"Secondly, I must from time to time refer to the controversies of Anglicans with the Roman Church. Much of the character of our Church has been hammered out on the anvil of controversy, and it is in the line taken in those disputes that the clue to our viewpoint is often to be found. This inevitably means that from time to time I must comment on the relationships between ourselves and the Roman obedience and point out why we believe those from whom we are separated are in error. May I however make it abundantly clear from the outset that it is no purpose of mine to attack the Roman Church or to make these lectures the occasion for a

datribe against it. It would be a serious comment on the good manners of a visitor to your hospitable shores if he were to employ such an opportunity as these lectures provide to vilify a Christian Communion to which so many of your countrymen belong, and for which many of us have a considerable admiration. Let then what I have to say on these matters be regarded as legitimate comment and criticism which is made inevitable by the nature of the subject.

"Thirdly, I fancy that you may enter with me into the substance of these lectures if, before we begin in earnest, I, as they say in the law courts, "declare my interest." As far as I am able to judge myself honestly, I can declare that the Church of England has been the greatest single formative influence of my life. I am the son and the grandson of priests of the Church. I was brought up in surroundings where worship in the church was a normal and natural family activity. From the age of eight to thirteen I was a choirboy in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and there, within the setting of one of the great architectural gems of Christendom, I learnt to love the worship of the Prayer Book and the splendor of the tradition of Anglican Church music. I was later a schoolboy at Westminster, under the shadow of the Abbey which was our school chapel, and an undergraduate at New College, Oxford, the religious foundation of that educational genius, William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, who clothed the teaching he sought to make available in a religious garb which still sweetens all that is done in the buildings he erected. I have been a parish priest, a chaplain in the Royal Navy, where religion still speaks with a strong voice, and domestic chaplain to the late Archbishop of York, Dr. Garbett, a prince of the Church and a great yet humble leader of Christ's flock. I was for four years a suffragan bishop in the Diocese of London, having charge over the teeming masses of North London. Now it is my privilege to serve the

Church as Bishop of one of the loveliest and most varied and interesting Dioceses in England.

"You will appreciate therefore that I speak of the Church of England as would a loyal son of his parent. The Church of England has been my mother in holy things, and my affection for her and debt to her are incalculable. I do not believe her to be perfect, and I have known, as we all do at times, those inevitable strains which arise between parents and children, when the latter believe themselves to be cleverer, more up to date, more go-ahead, than those who gave them birth. In time we learn that our parent is wiser than we believed possible, and that over a long period she has accumulated a wealth of experience and understanding by which she nurtures and guides her children.

"As much then as I can make them, these lectures are a thank-offering to Almighty God for having given to me the great privilege of membership in that branch of His Holy Catholic Church, the Anglican Communion, which I firmly believe to be nearer to the will of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, than any other part of Christendom."

The Anglican Communion

I

The Origins of the Anglican Communion

THE MAIN TASK of these lectures is to elucidate and discuss the character of the Anglican Communion.

The character of a living organism is never easy to define, for it is compounded of many constituent elements, and the result often defies analysis or description in words. The character of a person is made up of a number of factors: heredity, environment, the impact of other persons, of belief, climate, geography, possessions, and so on. So the character of a living organism like the Church is built up of a number of contributing elements: its origin, the impact of the movements of secular history, the force of the great crises and upheavals in human affairs, the character of the individuals who contribute to its life. Therefore the first step in understanding character is to attempt to understand the constituent parts. We may well find at the end that the whole is greater than a mere addition of all the factors which have impinged upon it. Yet we shall have gone far if we have appreciated those factors. That therefore is what we must first do.

The quick and easy answer to the question, What is the origin of the Anglican Communion? is Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. In one sense it is true: in another it is incomplete. For there was a Church of God before the coming of Our Lord, the Jewish Church, the Church of the Old Covenant, and it was in the life of that Church that Our Lord took His place.

It was the remnant of the Old Israel, the little group of men who remained faithful to Jesus Christ, who were to form the nucleus of the Church of the New Covenant, and who were to receive their seal and power on the first Whit-sunday, which the Christian Church regards as its birthday, the anniversary of its new foundation. The Anglican Communion recognizes its legacy from the old as well as from the new by the place it accords to the literature, the teaching and the devotion of the Church of the Old Dispensation. The reading of the Old Testament, the recital of the Ten Commandments, the round of the Psalms, in our worship, are all evidence of the acknowledgment we make of our origins back into the mists of time, and of our debt to the spiritual message of the Church of Israel.

Nevertheless, in a special sense, the Christian Church owes its existence to the Person of Jesus Christ. For the Church is not merely a contractual society of people who have clubbed together to propagate beliefs which they hold in common. It is an organic society, the Body of Jesus Christ, the extension and continuation of His Incarnation. It is the creation of God, into which we are received by baptism and confirmation, and in which we are nourished by Word and Sacrament. To say that the origin of the Christian Church is Jesus Christ Himself may seem so obvious as to be hardly worth while saying. But sometimes the obvious is so close to us that we forget about it and its obligations. And the Church needs constantly to be looking back to its origins and to be

testing its life and teaching by the standard of its Founder. No Church which is untrue to His teaching, no Church which cannot trace its continuity back to Him, has the right to claim that it is a true part of His Body. "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ," says St. Paul. And just as the divisions in Christendom have arisen because some have accused others that they have built on faulty foundations, so also in the more constructive and positive work of reunion, the basic problems which have to be solved concern the Mind of Christ for His Church.

We Anglicans believe our Church to be according to the Mind of Christ, and in direct succession to that which He came to give. That constitutes both the glory in which we rejoice, the authority by which we are guided, and the standard by which we examine ourselves. So we can sing of the Anglican Church with complete conviction those words which Cardinal Newman puts into the mouth of the dying Gerontius:-

And I hold in veneration,
For the love of Him alone,
Holy Church as His creation,
And her teachings as His own.

If then the Anglican Communion takes its character first and most profoundly from its Divine Founder, so secondly it has been moulded by the fact that it was cradled in those small, and in early days, rude and grim islands on the edge of civilization, known as the British Isles. The way in which the Christian Gospel first came to those islands is lost in the mists of time. Legends largely clustering around the ancient site of Glastonbury have spoken of the merchant Joseph of Arimathea coming to our shores, and even of the possibility that Christ Himself as a child made the journey with him—a legend which has inspired the poet William Blake to write

those lines which have almost become a second national anthem in my country:-

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?

But, legend apart, there is no doubt that it was not a very long time after the incarnate life of Christ that the story of His gospel was preached in Britain, and the English Church had started on its way. Tertullian, writing about the year A.D. 208, speaks of parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans which had yet been conquered by Christ. We know that bishops from England attended the Council of Arles in 314. We may be sure that when, by the Edict of Milan in 313, the Emperor Constantine declared the Christian faith to be legal, the rapid advance which followed everywhere was reflected in the British Isles, and many of the Romans in occupation of Britain, who had secretly been Christians, openly declared their faith.

The Church in Britain during the next centuries suffered from the ebb and flow of contest between Christian and pagan. Ninian working, about 400, in South Scotland and North England, Patrick at the beginning of the fifth century in Ireland, St. Columba at Iona and St. David in Wales in the sixth century, were bringing the Christian faith to the British Isles and defending it against the counter-attack of paganism long before the missionaries came from Rome. Then came the arrival of Augustine, sent from Rome by Gregory the Great, who landed in Kent in the year 597. He confined his work to Kent and London. Another Italian monk, Paulinus, pushed forward to the North, and on Easter Eve, 627, baptized Edwin, King of Northumbria, on a spot now covered by the majestic building of York Minster.

But soon pagan force in the North was to prevail and the Church to collapse. It was to be restored by men who came from St. Columba's monastery on the Island of Iona off the West Coast of Scotland; Oswald the King, and Aidan, the monk. So by the middle of the seventh century the Christian faith was once more firmly established in the land. In the North was the Celtic Church, drawing for its inspiration on Iona; in the South the Roman Church, looking to Rome for guidance and help. These two Christian traditions clashed and produced a growing chaos, for they disagreed about the date of Easter, the shape of a monk's tonsure, the penitential system and other matters. At the Synod of Whitby in 664, these problems were discussed and King Oswy gave his judgment that the Roman customs should prevail.

The Synod of Whitby and the events leading up to it were of vital importance to the character of the English Church and therefore of the Anglican Communion. The Celtic Church, with all its endearing features, was haphazard and ill-organised. By deciding at Whitby that the Roman system should prevail, two elements of inestimable value were established in the life of the English Church. First, the law and order of the Roman mind and culture were accepted by English Christianity. Secondly, the English Church was brought into and became an integral part of Western Christendom. Had it accepted the Celtic system it would have lingered on in unimportant independence, isolated from the mainstream of the Catholic Church. As it was, the English Church took its place in the fullness of Western Christendom drawing upon its riches and making its contribution.

For the next nine hundred years the *ecclesia anglicana*, the English Church, was part of the Church of the West, and accepted the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome in her affairs. Her law was the Canon Law of the Roman Church. She looked to the Pope for her spiritual authority. He exercised

immense power in her internal organisation. It is true that from time to time there was a restiveness in England which suggested that the Church was acting in an independent manner and asserting her spiritual autonomy. But these moments of stress and strain were almost entirely political rather than ecclesiastical in origin, and represented the assertiveness of Kings against Popes in seeking to delineate where each other's authority began and ended. Indeed, for the sake of historical accuracy and recognition of the truth it ought to be recognized once and for all that, at any rate in the early centuries of the Middle Ages, the support of the Papacy was of the greatest advantage to the Church in England. As a great historian of our Church has pointed out, the Papacy was the one effective bulwark against tyranny and the guardian of human rights.¹ And though, as time went on, the Papacy became corrupt, tempers frayed and demands for reform insistent, yet, to quote another Anglican historian, the Church "was certainly greatly in need of reform. But those who, at the close of the fifteenth century, cared most about reform would have been among those most distressed at the course which the so-called 'Reformation' took in the following generation."²

What then was to happen which was to produce so radical a transformation of the human scene in so short a period of time? To try to answer such a question in a short space is, of course, to attempt the impossible. All that one can do is to indicate some of the trends, and then evaluate their impact upon the religious scene. We may also add this observation, that of all generations of men since the Reformation we are perhaps best situated to understand sympathetically what was happening in the sixteenth century. The vast upsurge in human affairs in which we are participating, caused for the most part by the development of scientific method and research, has created a radical transformation in the

scene of man's affairs. As we compare one day with another, we may be unaware of anything very tremendous taking place. But when we compare our way of life with that familiar only a few years ago, we understand something of the fundamental changes that are taking place. We appreciate how these developments touch every aspect of life, cultural, economic, social, scientific, religious. Old ways are challenged and are under judgment to justify themselves or to reform themselves.

So was the revolution as mankind passed from the medieval to modern times. That revolution was cultural, in that it was concerned with the rediscovery of the splendor that had belonged to the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome. Particularly this represented a revival of humanism, in which man began again to rejoice in the wonder of his own person, in the flights to which he was able to attain by his own efforts in creative activities, in the sheer joy of being a person in a wonderful world. It is represented by the creative power of men like Botticelli, Donatello, Raphael and Michelangelo.

The revolution was scientific, for it marked the moving away from the Copernican theories of the nature of the Universe, and the emergence of the genius of such men as Galileo and Leonardo da Vinci. The most far-reaching of the new inventions was that of printing, which enabled scholars and thinkers to propagate their beliefs and teachings on a scale and to a public undreamt of by the Middle Ages.

It was an age of revolution in international affairs, witnessing as it did the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire as a reality, and Latin as a universal tongue, and their replacement by rapidly awakening nationalistic sympathies and languages.

It was a revolution which evoked in man an intolerance of the accepted order, a desire to question accepted theories,

to break out from his surroundings and to explore the unknown. So the age produced the great explorers who in a few years changed the map of the known civilized world and threw out its boundaries in every direction.

Now because the Church was an all-pervading influence in men's affairs in the Middle Ages, it was upon the Church that the brunt of the challenge of the revolution was to fall. Questions would be asked, light would be thrown into dark corners, accepted standards would be re-examined. How would the Church behave in the fiery ordeal which she was to undergo?

The tragedy was that not merely was the Church unprepared to deal with the awakening which had come upon the civilized world: it was not even prepared to reform itself. It was in a state of corruption and turpitude which it was slow to shed. It is generally recognized that, in the closing years of the Middle Ages, in almost every department the life of the Church had become debased and ineffective. The leaders had become so engrossed in the problems of territorial government that they had lost the vision of their true office. "The apostolic spirit—the *élan intérieur*—" says the distinguished Roman Catholic historian, Fr. Philip Hughes, "had been steadily disappearing from the whole corps of the rulers of the Church. The diminished personalities of the popes of these times are only too close a reflection of their anaemic view of their pastoral office."³ The worship and practice of the Church had become clogged by a mass of superstition, and an overpowering clericalism. The monastic system had largely outlived its usefulness. The constant demands of the Roman court for money payments for spiritual services had brought its name into disrepute. Even a Papal Commission in 1537 spoke in stern terms about the evils of superstition, laxity, avarice and immorality with which the life of the

Church was impregnated, and of which the evil effects had reached even to the Pope himself.

In the examination of the Reformation it is essential that we should differentiate clearly between the issues which were fundamental and those which were secondary. Too often we judge the validity or desirability of what happened by the standard of some superficial issue or the personal character of one of the participants. It is easy to skim the surface and reach a judgment upon side issues. But it is wiser and more truthful to dig deep and test men's actions in the light of the fundamental issues involved. Never was this more necessary than in the judgment we pass upon the Reformation. What we must all the time bear in mind is that the Reformation was a desire for spiritual purity: and this purity was to be recovered by an appeal to the practice of the primitive Church according to the rule of the Gospel.

When the first thunderbolt fell, it fell from a clear sky. Outwardly the Papacy was secure, on good terms with its neighbors. Yet in a few years the unity which had been preserved in Western Christendom lay fractured in pieces. How could this happen so rapidly and so radically? That distinguished historian, Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London at the turn of the century, sums up the root cause in a few simple words: "The papal power had ceased to be either dangerous or aggressive; it was simply obstructive."⁴ Obstructive, that is to say, to all the developments which were so rapidly being seized upon by men, exhilarated as they were by the new learning and new understanding of the world and man within it. Unable to adjust itself, to accommodate itself to new ways and insights, to reform itself in time and to sweep away the corrupt accretions of centuries, the Papacy forced the seekers for truth to cut new channels through which their beliefs might be expressed.

Time and space forbid a detailed examination of the fail-

ure of the Church at this vital juncture in man's affairs. It must suffice here to see how the protest was made in England, how the protest developed into action, and how out of the melting-pot emerged the Church, refined and reformed, bearing the characteristics which today form the life of the Anglican Communion.

The explosion had been set off by Martin Luther when he nailed his theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg. He was protesting against the penitential system of the Church, as exemplified by Indulgences, and their sale for money, which was seen by many to be unspiritual and immoral. Luther wanted the matter discussed. He was refused. It was this refusal to face the issues which sparked off the conflagration.

Similarly in England it was a superficial matter which uncovered the deeper issues which really mattered. All the world knows about the matter of the King's divorce. What Henry VIII wanted was in fact not a divorce, but a declaration that the dispensation whereby he had been allowed to marry his deceased brother's wife, Katherine of Aragon, was invalid. The Pope had power to grant such a declaration; he had often done so in similar circumstances. He refused it on this occasion, not on theological grounds, but on political grounds. Thus the whole system of Papal Law was brought into open disrepute, and through the agency of this sordid business the deeper corruptions into which the papal system had degenerated were laid bare for all to see.

The Reformation in England under Henry VIII was a curious mixture of revolution and conservatism. In its initial stages it was almost entirely a political matter in which the clergy had little part. What Henry VIII sought and obtained was Catholicism without the Pope. Under his son, the weakly boy King Edward VI, violent, unscrupulous and selfish men gained power, and extreme reformers sought to bring the

English Church into line with the most left-wing Continental Reformers. Edward VI died at the age of 15, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, a fanatical Roman Catholic, who for five years set the clock back and sought to restore the old religion, pope and mass. In 1558 she died, of a broken heart, to be succeeded by her half-sister, Queen Elizabeth I.

By this time the English people were heartily tired of controversy and of the extremes to which they had been subjected. Elizabeth was shrewd enough to see that her people needed peace in religious matters, and that peace could best be established by compromise, by the *via media*, the middle way. With great subtlety she steered the ship of the Church between the Scylla of Romanism and the Charybdis of extreme Continental Protestantism. The result was the Act of Uniformity of 1559. It set the pattern for the English Church of the future. By its careful balance in preserving all that was right and good in the first sixteen centuries of Christendom, while admitting and encouraging the new learning and the appeal of personal religion for which the Reformers stood, the Elizabethan Settlement produced a synthesis which is the heart of Anglicanism, the core of your religion and mine.

And that synthesis was to find many stalwart and scholarly champions, pre-eminent among them Richard Hooker and Bishop Jewel, who by their learning and mastery of the English tongue were to establish for all time the principles on which Anglicanism is founded, both as against Rome on the one hand and the Puritans on the other.

I am acutely conscious of the superficiality of this rapid survey of the history of our Church at the moment of crisis and reformation. It must, of course, be filled in with more extensive study than we can give now. The one question which, however, even a cursory glance compels us to ask is, What happened to the Church of England during those years

of tumult and change? Amid the storms, did it ever cease to be a true part of Christ's Church? Did it cast off any essential element in the Christian religion so as to disqualify itself for the claim to be a genuine part of the Catholic Church? Was a new Church founded in England at the Reformation?

To those questions the Anglican gives an unequivocal answer. We concede that in those ferocious and turbulent days many sordid things were done—on both sides, let it not be forgotten—which tend to cloud our eyes from essential matters. It is true that our Church repudiated the authority of the Pope, not because it was convenient to do so, but because the Scriptures, newly opened to the people, could present no warrant for the claims which the Papacy was making for itself. It is true that the old theories of the meaning of the Mass were jettisoned, because the superstitions which had grown up around it could not be justified either by the Bible or by the practice of the primitive Church. But it is abundantly clear that the Reformers had no intention or desire to make a breach with the past or to create a new Church. In his famous *Apology* for the Church of England Bishop Jewel wrote: "We have planted no new religion, but only have renewed the old that was undoubtedly founded and used by the apostles of Christ and other holy Fathers in the primitive Church." It was a Re-formation through which the Church in England passed—a cleansing and revivifying of the old, a removal of abuses, so that the joyful news of the Gospel of Jesus Christ might once again be heard with clarity and be understood by His children.

So we may end by observing that one of the characteristics of the Anglican Communion is its innate sense of continuity. We have no doubts about the strength of our links with the past, our commission stretching back through time, binding us in loyalty and service to Our Lord Himself. We do not

question, for we know we have no need to question, that the Church of Augustine and Paulinus, the Church of Columba and Patrick, the Church of Aidan and Oswald, is the Church into which we have been received and from which we receive our sustenance and direction through the grace of God. As we look back and see how through all vicissitudes and dangers God had guided His Church and brought us to where we now are, we give thanks and resolve to go forward, knowing that God has never and will never desert His Church or fail His Children.

Continue, O Lord, thy most holy word and Gospel in this realm and grant that we may truly and thankfully embrace it. Give peace to thy Church from external troubles and persecutions, and from domestic discord and dissension; that all who profess thy word and Gospel may have the same as well in heart as in mouth; for thy Name's sake and for thy Christ's sake.

II

The Foundations of Anglicanism

I HAVE entitled this second chapter "The Foundations of Anglicanism," and it is my purpose that we should consider the fundamentals upon which the teaching of the Anglican Communion is based. Where may we find what the Anglican Church holds to be true and necessary to salvation? We do not accept the authority of the infallible voice of a Pope. Save for the Thirty-nine Articles, which do not pretend to be a complete statement of the Faith, we have no comprehensive confessional statement comparable, say, to the Westminster Confession of the Presbyterians. Nor have we elevated the writings of any one theologian to a position such as is held in the Roman Church by the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas, the *Institutes* of Calvin in the Calvinist Churches, or the *De Fide Orthodoxa* in the Churches of Eastern Orthodoxy. Where then are we to look for our own guidance and for the edification of others to find the teaching of Anglicanism? I suggest we shall discover the answer if we consider the place occupied in Anglican

worship and teaching by the two books which occupy a central place in its piety and scholarship: the Holy Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

Christianity is a religion of revelation, that is to say, its primary concern is with the understanding and proclamation of what God has done in the world in showing Himself and His will to man. Some religions approach the study of the relationships of God and man from another viewpoint. They are busy about man's efforts by philosophical speculation to form some theoretical academic concept of the character and purpose of God. The Christian approaches the problem differently. He believes God has acted: He has done something in the world of which men should take note. So his first duty is not to indulge in theoretical speculation about the being of God, but to respond to the revelation which God has made of Himself in history.

It follows that because Christianity is a revealed religion, it must be a religion of the book. For, if God has entered into the historical process, if He has intervened in the affairs of men, if indeed He came into the world as a person, then the records of His intervention, the story of what He has done, the history of His dealings with men and the nature of His revelation of Himself to them—all these things are of essential importance.

It is for this reason that the Anglican Communion gives first place in its teaching to the authority of Holy Scripture. "Holy Scripture," says the sixth Article, "containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." At the Ordering of a Priest or Deacon and at the Consecration of a Bishop, questions are asked of those to receive their several orders, which will leave the congregation in no doubt about their

intention to base all their teaching upon Holy Scripture. In its worship the Anglican Church gives primacy of place at Holy Communion and Matins and Evensong to the recitation of the Psalms and the planned reading of the Bible. The most superficial glance at the Anglican Church must therefore satisfy the observer that pre-eminently it is a Bible Church, placing in the forefront of its worship and teaching the reading and study of Holy Scripture.

We are, however, bound to ask if the Holy Bible is indeed capable of bearing this weight that is imposed upon it. Many things have happened since the sixteenth century, which have required us to modify our judgment about the meaning and purpose of the Bible. We must therefore in all honesty pose the question whether or not those modifications in our attitude to the Bible are so radical as to force us to change our ground and to move away from a position which grants primacy of place to it. To answer the question we must see what is the point at issue.

It must be accepted that up to the beginning of the nineteenth century the judgment accepted throughout Christendom was that the Bible was the word of God in the sense that God had dictated every word of it, and that those who had actually put pen to paper were merely acting as secretaries, recording the words spoken to them by God. If therefore one wanted to know the truth about any matter, one had only to search the Scriptures to find what God had to say upon it.

The first rumblings of the coming storm were heard, at any rate so far as my own country was concerned, when Lyell's *Principles of Geology* was published in 1830, in which the author asserted that the earth, so far from being created at a certain moment, as the Book of Genesis asserted, had reached its present condition by a process of long and gradual development. Then came the publication of Darwin's

Origin of Species in 1859, followed by the *Descent of Man* in 1871. The shock created to religious sensibility was violent in the extreme, for the new teaching seemed to strike at the very heart of biblical truth. So far from being created as individual entities, it appeared that the animal kingdom, yes, and man himself, had gradually emerged from a long process of natural selection. It seemed as if there was no moral purpose in the universe, for in nature might was right, and survival was, not to the best, but to the fittest. Herbert Spencer added fuel to the fire by applying evolutionary theories to ethics, and by teaching that man's ideas of right and wrong were not founded upon the absolute values of God's purposes, but had emerged in the same way as had the biological and geological aspects of the universe.

The silliness to which fear and uncertainty could reduce men was perhaps most forcibly illustrated by a famous debate at Oxford in 1860. Bishop Wilberforce, a great man in many respects, turned to Huxley, the interpreter of Darwin, and with a smiling insolence begged to know whether it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed to be descended from a monkey. Huxley whispered to his neighbor, "The Lord hath delivered him into my hands," and, when called to reply, ended his speech thus: "If I am asked whether I should choose to be descended from the poor animal of low intelligence and stooping gait, who grins and chatters as we pass, or from a man endowed with great ability and splendid position who should use these gifts to discredit humble seekers after truth, I hesitate what answer to make."¹

But worse was to come. For others were to apply the same scientific methods as had been employed for the studying of man and of the universe around him to the Bible itself. By scientific examination of the books, scholars were able to demonstrate that, far from having one Divine Author, many

of them betrayed unmistakable evidence of many authors, and of careful selection and editing of material; moreover, frequently the writers had left the marks of their own characters, outlooks and predilections upon their writings.

One can appreciate the dilemma in which thoughtful people found themselves. They had been brought up to believe that in the Bible was to be found an infallible source of information on every conceivable subject, moral, ethical, theological, scientific. Now, by the exercise of his brain, man was uncovering truths which appeared to be in conflict with those declared by Holy Scripture. The question had to be asked, Which is right and which is wrong? Are the scientists poking their noses in, where they have no business to be? Or have we and our Christian ancestors been, for all these centuries, trusting in a source of the truth which is now shown to be unreliable? Such were the problems which science posed to seekers for the truth.

The tragedy is that the dichotomy was in fact a false one, and the question need never have been put in the way which provoked the battle. As we stand back from the controversy, we can see matters in a truer perspective. We can appreciate that God uses many means by which to convey the truth to men, and no single means is capable of revealing, or designed to reveal, the whole. Thus God speaks through historical narrative, the statement of event and experience, and the student is entitled to be assured of the authenticity of the accounts. But God also speaks through the agency of myth and symbol and parable. He speaks through prophets and poets, who have their own particular techniques and modes of expression. Our duty is to understand the purpose of the particular author and to be sensitive to the methods which he employs to give expression to that truth which he receives from the Holy Spirit of God.

This means that the Bible is at the same time a supremely

easy, and yet a difficult and challenging, library of books to read. It is easy in that there is no soul too simple or unsophisticated who cannot read and receive directly and clearly a message of guidance and inspiration from God. It is difficult in that, if we would plumb its depths and draw on the fullest of its riches, we must be prepared to take trouble, to study, to acquaint ourselves with the historical setting of the writings and their immediate purpose, so that we may read with understanding and be able intelligently to apply what we are reading to our own lives and circumstances.

If we will do this, then we shall discover that modern research has not minimized, but has enormously broadened, the scope of the authority of the Bible. So we may welcome whole-heartedly and fearlessly the emphasis which is being placed in all branches of Christendom today on biblical theology, that is to say, the study of the declaration of the truth in Holy Scripture. We shall accept the opening resolution of the last Lambeth Conference, which affirmed "its belief that the Bible discloses the truths about the relation of God and Man which are the key to the world's predicament and is therefore deeply relevant to the modern world." And we shall remember that sound Anglican rule: "The Church to teach, the Bible to prove"—that is to say, "to attest"—as expressing the authority of the Bible in the message of the Church.

If we will accept this view of the place of the Bible and the responsibility of the reader, then we shall discover how right have been our forefathers in the English Church in laying such emphasis upon the authority of the Bible. We shall find that the Bible is not merely a treasure-house of religious practice and custom, or a handbook of moral injunctions, or a collection of superb stories, or an orchestra playing the music of golden English poetry and prose. We shall find, as did the Lambeth Conference² last year, that the Bible is

as relevant and alive to our needs as it ever was to generations who did not have the advantage of modern scientific and biblical scholarship—indeed more relevant and more alive. Wherever the Church is being true to its fellowship with the living Christ, wherever by the preaching of the Cross the love of God is judging and convicting men of sin, wherever in the stress of calamity, persecution, difficulty, men by their steadfastness are proclaiming the sovereignty of God, wherever the lives of individuals are being changed by the grace of God through Christ, there the Bible is performing its beneficent work and showing its relevance.

We need, however, to remember that the Bible did not come first and the Church second. The Bible grew up within the fellowship of the Church, which is the guardian and interpreter of the Book entrusted to it. It is therefore a natural consequence that the Bible is best expounded and appreciated when the Church is doing that which is its first duty, that is, to worship. And so our consideration of the importance of the Bible in the Anglican Communion leads us on naturally to a study of that other book which occupies an essential place in our life, the Book of Common Prayer.

It is generally admitted that one of the things which had gone most seriously wrong with the late medieval Church was that its worship had ceased to be an offering of the Church, of the fellowship of the Body of Christ, and had become, rather, a number of acts of personal devotion by individuals. The Middle Ages saw a complete reversal in the traditional principles of liturgical worship which had been accepted and acted upon by the early Church. Then, worship had been offered to God the Father through Jesus Christ, His Son. By the end of the Middle Ages, largely encouraged by numerous little books of personal devotion, the worship of the Church had ceased to be corporate, or to be addressed to God the Father; for while the priest was at the altar offer-

ing the Mass on behalf of the people, they were encouraged to occupy themselves in personal and private acts of devotion to Jesus.

Thomas Cranmer knew this to be wrong, and it is to him more than to anyone else that we owe our tradition in Anglicanism of corporate worship. And what he has given us was accomplished through the Book of Common Prayer. It is difficult to exaggerate the splendor of his achievement. He inherited a number of Services intended for the worship of monks, who were able to devote their whole time and energy to their performance, and with consummate skill he remoulded them into Services—the Holy Communion, Matins, Evensong—suitable for use by busy lay folk for whom formal worship had of necessity to be an occasional rather than a whole-time activity. He translated the somewhat astringent Latin of the old Service books into the most superb expression of our English tongue. He brought the worship of Almighty God, with all its awe and majesty, yet homeliness and simplicity, into the hearts of English-speaking people.

The clue to his intentions is to be found in the word *Common*. It is to *Common* Prayer that we are called, that is, a communal act, something not done for us by somebody else, but something done by all of us together. This was to be achieved in three ways.

First, the liturgy was translated into the vernacular, the common tongue, and it was ordered that it should be said out loud, so that everyone could hear and understand.

Secondly, Cranmer desired to impose liturgical uniformity. The old Service books had been extremely complicated, so that it was well-nigh impossible for the man in the pew to know what was going on during the Service. Moreover a variety of “uses” prevailed in different parts of the country. It is doubtful if Cranmer ever attained complete uniformity. But he set it up as an ideal, and came near to

achieving it. So, wherever a worshipper might be, he knew what he would find and could take his part in the act of worship. And he knew that all over the country his fellow-worshippers were doing the same thing, sharing in the same act. The Services of the Church thus became in a real sense the prayer of the whole Church, and not the prayer of a number of isolated individuals.

Finally, Cranmer commended the ideal of *common* worship by producing a *book* of common prayer, something which the worshipper would have in his hand, a guide to show him what was going to be said and done, so that he could take his part fully and with understanding. We have seen that one of the failings of the late medieval Church had been its loss of a sense of corporate worship. There had grown up in its place "the conception of the Mass as a sacrificial action whose sole executant is the priest who celebrates it . . . It is the business of the priest to perform the sacrifice and the business of the layman to watch him . . ."³

Cranmer saw to it that the worshippers had a book which enabled them to follow what was going on and to take their part. Thus the laity in Anglicanism are treated, as indeed they have a right to be treated, as adult members of the Church, with their part to take in its worship. Admittedly this makes demands upon them, for worship is not made easy. But it is important to observe that the alternative is the clericalism which pervades both Catholicism and Protestantism and which is a danger to the ideal of corporate worship. There is a close parallel between the Roman Catholic priest offering the Mass at the Altar for the people, and the Protestant minister in the pulpit offering extempore prayer on behalf of the people. A noted scholar of our Church has observed that what Protestantism did to the religion of Western Europe was simply to substitute a clericalism of the Word for a clericalism of the Sacrament.⁴

Between these extremes, Anglicanism, guided by Crammer, steers a *via media*, a middle way. True it gives due heed to a right and healthy clericalism of the Sacrament, for there is a valid sense in which the priest, in his official capacity, represents God to the people, and the people to God. It also acknowledges a clericalism of the Word, for the preaching office occupies a full and recognized place within Prayer Book worship, and indeed has been adorned by many masters of the art of preaching. But, by and large, Anglicanism belies clericalism by insisting that the laity must take a complete part in worship. They have the Prayer Book in their hands. The rules for its use are simple. They can follow word by word what is taking place. They have their appointed parts to take. They know that the minister is not doing something for them in which they have no share. He prays with, rather than for, them, or at them. He makes articulate those common prayers which the Body of Christ, assembled together, desires to offer to God. So the laity are not let off easily. They are required to concentrate. They must bear with the familiar, and search out the new riches which continually reveal themselves in the old well-known garb. Anglicanism regards this constant effort on behalf of clergy and laity alike in public worship as infinitely worth-while, for in this way the worship of the Church becomes what it is intended to be: the liturgy, the *λειτουργία*, the *work* of the people.

Here I would digress for a moment to remind you of the part played in Anglican worship by the singing of hymns. That they do occupy a place is in some ways surprising, for the Book of Common Prayer makes hardly any reference to their use, so that anyone judging Anglican worship solely by an examination of the Prayer Book might be forgiven if he conjectured that hymns are unknown to us. Yet in fact they have exercised a very deep influence upon the piety of Anglicans. It has been said of British people that, if you

wanted to find a single adjective which would be universally applicable, it could be said that they are a "hymn-singing" people. They love to sing hymns, even on the most unlikely occasions, such as immediately before the major football game of the season. And often the occasional singing of a hymn constitutes the sole act of worship, the only prayer which is offered throughout the year.

This is not the place for a dissertation on the history of hymns, and it must suffice for our purpose to remind you that the long tradition of hymn-writing and singing, going back indeed to the Bible, reached its full flower and took its full place in our worship in the work of the great hymnographers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I must be content with reminding you of some significant facts about our hymns which may help you to use them more profitably and enjoy them more deeply.

First, note that there is no point at which Christians draw closer than in their hymns. Where Christendom is divided in order, it is united in hymn-singing as we employ the genius of Christians of every Communion to lead us in our praise.

And next we should remember that hymns are probably the most effective teachers, both of doctrine and of personal devotion. We properly emphasize the importance of preaching, teaching, study groups, and so on. But most Anglicans have learnt what doctrine they know from singing hymns, and have expressed their most sincere prayers in some hymn of praise or adoration. It is interesting to note, moreover, the outstanding part which women have played in teaching the Church through hymns. Mrs. Alexander's series of teaching hymns for children, "Once in royal David's city," "All things bright and beautiful," "There is a green hill far away," and Caroline Noel's "At the Name of Jesus" are in the first rank as teaching hymns. I fancy that if most of us were to look

back over our life in the Faith we should recognize the debt we owe to our hymns. Where will you find more sound condensed teaching on the Incarnation than in Charles Wesley's "Hark! the herald angels sing"? When have you ever made a more splendid resolution than when, at your Confirmation perhaps, you sang John Ernest Bode's "O Jesus, I have promised To serve thee to the end"? When did you ever offer a lovelier act of adoration to the Saviour than when you sang the twelfth-century hymn, "Jesus, the very thought of thee/ With sweetness fills my breast"; or a more ardent prayer than when you sang, "Holy Father, in thy mercy,/Hear our anxious prayer;/Keep our loved ones, now far distant,/Neath thy care."?

Finally let me remind you of the great contribution to the praise and prayer of Christendom which has been made by members of your Church. Bishop Deane is remembered at almost every missionary meeting with his "Fling out the banner!"; Christmas is enriched each year by the lovely hymn written by that prince among preachers, Bishop Phillips Brooks, "O little town of Bethlehem," and the masterly modern carol of Dr. J. H. Hopkins, Rector of Christ Church, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, "We three kings of Orient are," while Dr. Bland Tucker, Rector of old Christ Church, Savannah, has in our own day recovered the biblical emphasis which is often so satisfying a characteristic of hymnody in his versification of Philippians, Chapter 2:

Let this mind be in us which was in thee,
Who wast a servant that we might be free,
Humbling thyself to death on Calvary.

Alleluia!

It is time now to sum up our consideration of the place of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in the Anglican

Communion. What characteristics in our life are revealed by our devotion to the Bible and our common worship? There are, I suggest, two of which we should take special note.

The first is our emphasis upon the importance of careful study and the guidance which is given by the use of human reason properly directed. Bishop Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London at the turn of the century, whom I have already quoted and shall quote again, sought in a famous lecture to find a formula which would most accurately describe Anglicanism. He summed up his researches in these words: "The formula which most explains the position of the Church of England is that it rests on an appeal to sound learning."⁵ It was this appeal to scholarship which enabled the English reformers in the sixteenth century to cut through the accretions of centuries and to understand and restore to the English Church the practices of the primitive Church and the teachings of the Early Fathers. It is this love of scholarship which has been one of the chief glories of Anglicanism and has left one of the deepest marks upon its character. The fearless quest for truth has bred in Anglicans a freedom, a breadth of vision and a tolerance which are often unfortunately lacking in the more fanatical and strait-laced communities. And if this freedom to study and to express the truth as we believe it has on occasions led to temporary embarrassment and bewilderment, we nevertheless believe that to be a price worth paying for the truths which have been made known by a humble surrender to the Holy Spirit and a courageous following of His guidance wherever He may lead.

The other characteristic of which we should take note is the emphasis which Anglicanism places upon learning through worship. Worship is, of course, an activity in itself and may be indulged in for no other purpose than that of offering ourselves as completely as we are able in adoration to the

most high God. Nevertheless, as we worship, so we learn: as we concentrate our minds upon some act of the Church, so that particular aspect of Christian truth is made clear to us. The Book of Common Prayer is not only a treasury of Christian devotion: it is also a handbook of what our Church teaches about the truth.

Thus frequently in our worship we proclaim our faith in the ancient creeds of the Church, and thereby remind ourselves of the Faith that we have received, that we profess not the Anglican Faith, but the Catholic Faith, the Faith of the whole Church. When we make our communion we not only participate in the great corporate offering of the Church and receive grace through the gift of God, but we also learn through the prayers what the Church teaches about the nature of that Sacrament. Similarly if we attend a baptism, or a confirmation, or a marriage, or a funeral, or an ordination, we not only take a part in an act of the Church, but we learn what the Anglican Church believes and teaches about the Christian family and reception into it, about Holy Matrimony, about death, about Holy Orders. Learning through worshipping—that is the Anglican way of making known and learning the truth. We do not draw up tidy and carefully worded confessions of Faith, and attach ferocious anathemas upon those who cannot subscribe to them. By reading the Bible with all the aids which modern scholars can give to us, and by worshipping together in the fellowship of the Church through the agency of the Prayer Book, we are led, so we trust, by the Holy Spirit to understand the truth as it has been revealed to us.

Let me end with a very short appeal to you. I hope that because I have spoken of the importance of scholarship and of the corporate use of the Prayer Book, you will not be scared of reading the Bible, or of following the daily lectionary, or of using the Prayer Book as a book of private devotion.

I cannot, of course, speak with any intimate knowledge of the life of your Church. But I do know that among Anglicans in my own country there is a great need for a deepening of personal religion and sanctity. We need, and I dare say it is a need here too, to recapture our habits of private Bible reading and prayer as individuals and in the home. There are many excellent schemes to help us read the Bible intelligently and with devotion, and we should use them. And there is no better aid to learning to say our personal and private prayers than the Book of Common Prayer.

Lord, teach thy people to love thy House best of all dwellings, thy Scriptures best of all books, thy Sacraments best of all gifts, the Communion of Saints best of all company; and that we may as one family and in one place give thanks and adore thy glory, help us to keep always thy Day, the first of days, holy unto thee, our Maker, our Resurrection, and our Life, God blessed for ever.

III

The Growth of the Anglican Communion

IN 1845 there were forty-seven dioceses of the Anglican Communion outside the British Isles. In 1958, a little over a hundred years later, the Archbishop of Canterbury invited the diocesan Bishops of three hundred and thirty-two dioceses to the Lambeth Conference. A hundred years ago the Anglican Communion as a world-wide fellowship of independent churches hardly existed. Today its seventeen Provinces cover the globe and its clergy and people preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ wherever they are free to do so, within the genius of Anglican worship and belief to all people.

It is the wonderful story of this growth and development under God that we have to tell tonight. It is a long story, and we must be selective in the way we tell it. It is the story of leadership and self-sacrifice, and we can best tell it in narrative form. It is a strange story, for we shall see how, from unpromising beginnings, despite indifference and lack of imagination, God has impelled His Church forward, has opened doors of opportunity, and has raised up men and

women capable of using the opportunities which He has provided.

What then are the beginnings of this growth? An English historian has told us that the answer is to be found in the development of two historical movements, the Reformation, and the British Empire.¹ We have already given some consideration to the Reformation. One of its results was that it isolated the English Church from the rest of Christendom. Having rejected Papal supremacy, it was cut off from Western Catholicism of which it had at one time formed a part. By its retention of Catholic doctrine, ministry and order, it was separated from Continental Protestantism. This isolation gave to the English Church a self-consciousness and a pride in itself which was to prove an inspiration and incentive to the English people as they awoke to the splendor of the Elizabethan Age.

For the beginning of the sixteenth century witnessed a great upsurge of creative endeavor, a new awakening to glory, in the English people. The spirit of the Renaissance found a welcoming home in that small island which in Roman times had lain on the outskirts of civilization, and which was now to aspire to a position of world leadership. The most vivid expression of that spirit was to be found in the urge to adventure and discovery, which was to satisfy men's desire for new worlds to conquer, and as well to prove extremely profitable to them. The Elizabethan seamen were uncompromisingly greedy for gain, and made their fortunes from theft and plunder. But they were also religious men, and like the Spanish conquistadores they found nothing incongruous in combining plunder and prayer. Finding in the National Church a natural expression on the religious level of their national exuberance, they took the Church with them wherever they went, and when they founded colonies they planted there "Christian inhabitants in places convenient."

These settlements were to be the centers of Anglican influence, the nuclei from which a chain reaction would go forth to bring men of different races, languages and customs into the life of the Anglican Communion, who would make their particular contributions to the widening and enrichment of its life.

It may well be thought that these were unpromising beginnings for a world-wide Christian Communion. That is indeed so. It is a strange thing that the Church of England, so typically English in its character, so definitely moulded by the historical circumstances of Western Europe in the sixteenth century, so clearly the child of English soil and English political development, should yet have proved itself capable of becoming the parent body of a great family of churches. Those churches have become national in the best sense, self-governing, independent. The children are all so different, and yet in a subtle, almost indefinable way, so alike. It is the miracle of the working of the Holy Spirit of God that the Church of England is so English, the Protestant Episcopal Church so American, the Church of Ceylon so Sinhalese, the Nippon Sei Ko Kai so Japanese. Yet any Anglican can go into any church of the Anglican Communion and immediately find himself at home. He senses a fellowship of which he knows he is an integral part. He is conscious of belonging. He is one with his neighbors. It is this unity within the Anglican Communion, transcending the barriers of nationality, color and culture, which is the great glory of our Communion, and the assurance of the Holy Spirit of God at work in our midst.

Every constituent branch of the Anglican Communion has its own history, its own triumph over adversity and difficulty, its own heroes, its own romance. Since we cannot tell here the whole wonderful story of God's providence, we must be

content with a few isolated examples which will illustrate the grand theme.

Consider then, first, that which will be most familiar to you, the course of the Anglican Communion in this land. You will no doubt know of the tradition that the words of the Book of Common Prayer were first heard on this continent from the lips of Francis Drake's chaplain on the shores of California. But it was on the East Coast that the Anglican Church first took root. We who are used to thinking of the United States of America as one nation need to remind ourselves that, until the separation from England in 1776, the thirteen states were thirteen different, separate nations, with distinct cultures and traditions. These distinctions extended to religious life. Thus Maryland was originally a Roman Catholic settlement; Pennsylvania Quaker, Massachusetts Independent. The Church of England was established in Virginia, but elsewhere its fortunes were checkered. In 1679 there were no episcopal clergy in New England. Trinity Parish in New York was not established till 1697. As late as 1741 there were only two Anglican clergy in North Carolina. The Wesleys, speaking of their experience in Georgia, could report that the white colonists had "very little more knowledge of a Saviour than the aboriginal natives."²

It is remarkable that the Anglican Church survived at all. The original colonists had come to America often to flee from episcopal persecution. They had no desire that the system from which they had fled should catch up with them, now they had found their freedom. Moreover, those who did desire episcopal ministrations were denied what they sought. An Order in Council of 1633 placed all outposts of the English Church "under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London as their diocesan." This shadowy jurisdiction was used as a pretext to withhold proper episcopal oversight from the American Colonies. Thus the American people were

denied confirmation and ordination. The one bright light in this sorry story is the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which campaigned against the British Government for resident Bishops in America, and which sent three hundred and ten missionaries to labor in the cause of the Gospel in this land.

To the Anglicans in America, so precariously situated, the War of Independence must have seemed to sound a death knell. Many clergy were loyalists and they, with large numbers of their flocks, fled to Nova Scotia, to be the foundation of the Anglican Church in Canada. All must have seemed lost. But there were many stout hearts left behind. The initiative for advance came from Connecticut where, in 1783, Samuel Seabury was elected Bishop and sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be consecrated. The English Government of the day refused to help those it regarded as rebels, and William Pitt is reported as having said, "I will never allow the Church of England to consecrate Bishops for America." So Seabury turned northwards, and on Sunday, November 14th, 1784, in an upper room at Aberdeen where the persecuted Episcopalians met for worship, he received "a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopate from three Scottish Bishops." "Wherever the American Episcopal Church shall be mentioned in the world," said the new Diocese of Connecticut in its address of thanks to the Diocese of Aberdeen, "may this good deed which they have done for us be spoken of for a memorial of them." Two years later an Act of Parliament was passed empowering the Church of England to consecrate as Bishops persons "being Subjects or Citizens of countries out of His Majesty's Dominions," and in the next year, on February 4th, 1787, William White was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost Bishop of New York, in Lambeth Palace Chapel. So the foundations were laid.

But before we leave the Protestant Episcopal Church establishing itself in the East, let us glance elsewhere for a moment and catch a glimpse of the romance of the working of the Spirit. Picture the English clergymen who gave up the comforts of their homes in order to sail across the Atlantic, through Hudson's Bay, to the Red River, to serve the men of Hudson's Bay Company and incidentally to bring the Church to Central and Western Canada. They established a school at Winnipeg and, so quickly did the fame of the school spread, that in 1825 the chiefs of the Western Indians on the Columbia River sent two of their sons to be educated there. In 1828 the two boys were baptized in the names Kootamey and Spogan Garry (Kootenay and Spokane). They returned home and soon came back to the school with five other native Indian boys. Kootamey died in 1830, but Spogan Garry returned to his own people in 1832, and told them of the faith he had been taught at the Anglican school in Winnipeg. About four years later a deputation of Indians arrived in St. Louis asking for more details about the white man's religion and requesting for teachers to be sent. Three American clergymen set out for the wild country of the Columbia River and they were astonished to find among the people a ready appreciation of Christian truth, and a large body of "Spogan Indians" who had some understanding of the Faith. There was, moreover, an efficient interpreter, no doubt Spogan Garry himself, who had been educated at Winnipeg. The missionaries reported that with these good people they had "a real Bethel in the woods."

So American Anglican clergymen, making the hard journey across the continent to the Indians on the Columbia River in the State of Washington, found there Indians professing the elements of the Christian Faith which they had received from the Anglican clergymen who had come out from Eng-

land to Western Canada by way of Hudson's Bay and Red River.³

The story of the Anglican Church in the United States is repeated on many other occasions in different circumstances in other parts of the world. The Church brought by settlers, the official indifference, the heroism and the romance: they are all there. Thus we remember Richard Johnson arriving in Australia with the first fleet of convicts shipped to Botany Bay in 1787, to be joined by Samuel Marsden who was to be the apostle to New Zealand. The historian writes: "Whether a mission so amateurishly begun, so beset with dangers, so discredited by white pirates, and by internal friction and frailty, would survive, might well appear doubtful; that it did must surely be credited to the vigilance and adventurous voyages of Samuel Marsden, who on his last visit at the age of 73 could report peace and security in what had been one of the most warlike districts, a great number of the inhabitants baptized and living like Christians, and the missionaries a very pious, prudent and laborious body."⁴

So we could go on, quoting, for instance, Robert Gray finding South Africa neglected in the middle of the nineteenth century: "We have suffered great spiritual destitution from the long neglect shown by the Mother Church . . ." he says.⁵ Or we could tell of the slowness of the Church to recognize that the slaves in the West Indies had souls and the need of a Saviour. Or again we could relate the campaign waged by the famous wit, Sydney Smith, against Indian missionaries: ". . . shoals of jumpers exhibiting their nimble piety before the learned Brahmins of Benares."

But it was not all so haphazard and chancy. And the credit for bringing the Church to a recognition of the primary duty of evangelism, an acknowledgment of its true mission, planned and purposeful, must be given to the Evangelical Movement, that awakening in Anglicanism of a

knowledge of the saving grace of Christ, which came as a reaction to the looseness of Regency morals, to the shock of the French Revolution, and to the challenge of the Methodist Movement. In the Church of England the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society led the way, to be followed by the High Church Universities' Mission to Central Africa, formed in 1857 in answer to the call from the Presbyterian, David Livingstone: "I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you." In your own country it was marked by the formation by General Convention of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society in 1820, which was quickly to take direct action, in the name of the whole Church, in promoting evangelistic work both on this continent and overseas.

In general, the missionary work of the Church, which had been so chancy in the past, now took on an aspect of responsibility and vigor. It lacked, it is true, co-ordination between various Anglican agencies, a weakness which has not yet been remedied. But no longer was it to depend upon the spread of the British flag or some political or sociological factor which placed men for other reasons than religious in a situation where they were able, as a side line, to propagate the faith they professed. Thus, as soon as China was opened in 1844, an American mission under Bishop Boone arrived at Shanghai, to be followed soon after by English missionaries. Six years after Commodore Perry sailed into Japanese waters in 1853, the American Church sent a mission, to be followed ten years later by representatives of the English Missionary Societies and the Church of Canada.

All over the world the nineteenth century saw a vast and splendid outpouring of energy, giving and service on the part of the Anglican Communion. India, Africa, the Pacific

Ocean, the Near and Far East, all provided theatres of war into which the Christian soldiers boldly went to proclaim the Gospel and to establish the Church. The army was well provided for by the giving of the Church at home. It was staffed by men of vision and drive. Hundreds of humble folk left their homes and all they held dear to join the ranks and to serve our Lord under conditions which were often uncongenial and trying, and which entailed long periods of separation from kindred and home. We do well to honor this company which no man can number.

The story is too long to be told within the limits of a single lecture. But we can see something of its vision and heroism if we consider one or two instances of the missionary endeavor of our Church in the past hundred years. And first let me transport you to Uganda, that great country on the East Coast of Africa, a thousand miles inland from the coast, to the West of Kenya. Your countryman, H. M. Stanley, who had found Livingstone at Ujiji, reported favorably on the character of the Baganda people, and issued a challenge to Christendom to send a mission to Uganda. The challenge was accepted by the Church Missionary Society, and in 1876 Charles Mackay, a Scottish engineer, set out for East Africa. He reached Uganda in 1878 to find that two of the three missionaries who had preceded him had been murdered. He set to work, his tools in one hand, his Greek testament in the other, teaching manual work and the Christian Faith to all who would hear. There were five baptisms in 1882, and eighty-nine in 1884.

In 1884 the King Mtesa, who had played with the idea of Christianity but never come to baptism, was succeeded by his son Mwanga. In the same year James Hannington, who had been to Africa two years before and had been sent home for reasons of health, landed again, having been consecrated to be the first Bishop of East Equatorial Africa. He began

his journey to Uganda on July 22nd, knowing fully the hardness of the task he had undertaken. "Starvation, desertion, treachery, and a few other nightmares and furies hover over one's head in ghostly forms, and yet, in spite of it all, I feel in capital spirits. Let me beg every mite of spare prayer. You must uphold my hands, lest they fall. If this is the last chapter of earthly history, then the next will be the first page of the heavenly . . ." By October 21st, he reached the borders of Uganda, and he was immediately seized by Mwanga's orders and held captive for eight days. His diary was preserved and told the tale of his last days: "*October 28th. 7th Day.* A terrible night; first with noisy, drunken guard, and secondly with vermin, which have found out my tent and swarm. I don't think I got one hour's sleep, and woke with fever fast developing. O Lord, do have mercy on me, and release me! I am quite broken down and brought low. Comforted by reading 27th Psalm. Fever developed very rapidly . . . soon was delirious." Soon after this, James Hannington and his fifty porters were brought out for execution. We are told how, "as the soldiers told off to murder him closed round, he made one last use of that commanding mien which never failed to secure for him the respect of the most savage. Drawing himself up, he looked around, and as they momentarily hesitated with poised weapons . . . he bade them tell the king that he was about to die for the Baganda, and that he had purchased the road to Buganda with his life. Then, as they still hesitated, he pointed to his own gun, which one of them discharged, and the great and noble spirit leapt forth from its broken house of clay and entered with exceeding joy into the presence of the King."

Hannington's martyrdom with his companions was followed by terrible persecution. Native converts were tortured and put to death. It is told of three native boys who were burnt alive, that as they were mocked "the spirit of the

martyrs at once entered into the lads, and together they raised their voices and praised Jesus in the fire, singing till their shrivelled tongues refused to form the words." H. M. Stanley wrote of these days, "Such fortitude, such bravery, such courage! It is unexampled in the whole history of Africa. I think the future of that country will be a very bright one indeed."

So it was to prove. Better times lay ahead. Sixty years after the entry of the Gospel into Uganda a great celebration was held in the Cathedral. A procession of ninety African clergy and eighty African choirmen and boys moved into the church in procession past the graves of Hannington, Mackay and other leaders in the Faith. An immense congregation joined in the hymn "Daily, daily sing the praises," which the first Uganda martyrs had sung as they were burned at the stake. "Something of the blood and sweat and toil and tears which were the cost of the ascent to this summit" is the heritage of which we Anglicans are so rightly proud.⁶

Now let me take you to the other side of the globe. Here the great name in Anglican missions is that of George Augustus Selwyn who in 1841 reached New Zealand, at the age of 34, to be its first Bishop. The letters patent of his appointment contained a curious mistake, for they defined his new Diocese as extending from Latitude 50 South to Latitude 54 North, instead of South. This error added a mere four thousand square miles, but it also had an unexpected consequence. For in that four thousand square miles were included the Islands of Melanesia in the Southern Pacific which were to be the scene of one of the most splendid chapters of our Church's history.

Selwyn proved to be a man of outstanding vigor and administrative ability. And one of the most far-reaching among his many imaginative plans was to inspire John Coleridge Patteson to follow him to Australasia in 1855. In 1861

Patteson was consecrated Bishop of Melanesia, and for the next ten years he devoted himself to the care of the islands in his widespread Diocese—the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides—names like Guadalcanal which eighty years later were to become household possessions. He lived in a native cottage, he bore with loneliness, he was patient and slow-moving, he was constantly in danger.

One of his plans was to bring young people from the scattered islands to centers where they could be taught and trained at mission stations. This brought suspicion upon him, for it was the practice of traders to kidnap young islanders and take them to work in Australian plantations, and often they obtained their slaves by falsely using the name of the Bishop. On September 18, 1871, he set out to visit one of the Santa Cruz Islands. Wearied by overwork, he had a sense of foreboding: "I am fully alive to the probability that some outrage has been committed here. . . . I am quite aware that we *may* be exposed to considerable risk on this account." Two days later the Bishop went ashore and as he landed there was a hostile demonstration. His friends waited out to sea for him, and in the evening they saw a canoe floating towards them. In it was the Bishop's body, wrapped in a native mat, secured at head and foot. A palm leaf was fastened over the breast, and on the body were five wounds, revenge for five natives who had been trapped by the traders and carried away from the island.

The palm leaf was indeed to be a victor's reward. Bishop Patteson's martyrdom drew the attention of the world to the evil of this horrible traffic in slaves. It also gave great strength to the Melanesian Mission, which was to become, and still is, one of the brightest jewels in the Anglican treasury. And it was to catch the imagination of Church people, giving them a new understanding of the meaning of episcopacy, and teaching them a deeper sense of the meaning of service.⁷

For our last illustration we travel about fifteen hundred miles northwest, still in the Pacific Ocean, to the islands of New Guinea; and in time we come to our own generation. At the time of the invasion of the Islands in World War II many of the Anglican clergy stayed with their people, although they knew that such action might cost them their lives. One of those who remained at his post was Vivian Redlich, a young Anglican priest. Despite warnings about the danger he was in, he refused to leave his flock. Here is how a Roman Catholic doctor described what happened. Redlich celebrated Holy Communion for his people. "I do not think I have ever witnessed a more devout congregation. The fervor expressed in those faces would have equalled that of the early Christians assisting at Mass in some hidden catacomb. Like those early Christians, these New Guinea Christians were assisting at Mass at the risk of their lives. The dense silence of the jungle was broken only by the sound of the priest's voice praying for his people. Then came the rustle of movement as those bare brown feet moved near the altar at the time of communion. It was really edifying to witness each native present communicate in such a devout and reverent manner." Soon after this service Vivian Redlich fell into the hands of the invaders, and was put to death. "As his head was struck from his body and the white sand of the beach covered with his blood, there died a missionary whom we in Papua shall never forget. He died because he remained true to his trust. When he might have fled he did not flee."⁸

This brief survey will, I trust, have given us some idea of the way in which the Anglican Communion has grown and developed. Many forces have been at work moulding, conditioning, directing its growth. It has been subjected to the stresses of the historical process. It has been carried, sometimes haphazard, to distant parts of the world by individuals

who had no missionary purpose in mind. It has been implanted in other instances by those who knew what they were doing, and who deliberately gave their lives to the task of preaching the Gospel. By these means, so varied and often so unpremeditated, the Church of England, a small, isolated, state-controlled Church, has spread throughout the world to become the Anglican Communion, a fellowship of free churches, each autonomous, each expressing a particular national character, but all linked together in very close community by a common faith and order and a common parentage.

This we know to be good. But honesty compels us to ask, Is it right? Is this pattern which the Anglican Communion has assumed through the passage of years the shape which in fact God intends for His Church? Is this kind of development consistent with the prayer uttered by Our Lord that His Church should be one?

The Roman Communion would of course deny the validity of the claim of the Anglican Communion to preserve within its system the requisites for the unity of the Church. They would assert that the Church, to be one, must be monarchical; that it must, on earth, be ruled by a single authority; and that any who refuse to accept the rule of that monarch are breaking the unity of the Church and have therefore put themselves outside its fellowship.

Anglicanism denies this concept of the unity of the Church. It believes indeed that the Church is one. It has a knowledge of its unity and a duty to seek to set forth that unity to the world. But the Church is set within the natural order of this world and it cannot disentangle itself from that order. One of the manifestations of that natural order is the rise of nationalism, the self-consciousness of peoples to appreciate and value their own culture and traditions. In its proper place nationalism is good and right. And historically it has been

the failure of a monarchical church to come to terms with national self-consciousness which has resulted in the break-up of the earthly unity of the Church. It was upon nationalistic grounds that the tragic split between Western and Eastern Christendom in the eleventh century came about. It was the failure of the Western Church to come to terms with the rising tide of nationalism that precipitated its break-up in the sixteenth century. In its place there grew up what is a principle of Anglicanism, the National Church.

To believe in the place of a National Church in the whole Church of God is in no way to deny or vitiate the unity of the Church of God. It is not repugnant to the concept of the One, Holy, Catholic Church. All that is signified is that the members of the Church in a particular country worship together in the fellowship of their own Church. They are united with other national or particular churches by their common loyalty to Scripture, the creeds, and the order and ministry of the Church. They have no power to alter the fundamental beliefs of the Church. But they have the duty of deciding how best that Faith may be commended through the agency of the traditions, customs and culture of the particular nation of which they are members. So the Lambeth Conference of 1930 was able to say: "Every Church of our Communion is endeavouring to do for the country where it exists the service which the Church of England has done for England—to represent the Christian religion and the Christian Faith in a manner congenial to the people of the land, and to give scope to their genius in the development of Christian life and worship."

Thus Anglicanism accepts the legitimacy of nationalistic aspirations, and sees the unity of the Church expressed within them. This course presents special dangers; for an excessive spirit of nationalism can be a disruptive force, destructive of civilized communication between peoples. And

the Church can never ally itself to forces which divide rather than unite the nations of the world. But there is a healthy and proper nationalism, which acknowledges the realities of history and takes a legitimate pride in race, culture and tradition. The concept of the National Church allows room for nationality and liberty. "A National Church," says Bishop Mandell Creighton, "stands in close relation to the life of a particular nation, and tries to lead it to a recognition of its eternal destiny, not to force it into a common mould."⁹

The concept of a National Church places, however, a special responsibility and duty upon those who are sent to proclaim the Gospel to people of other cultures than their own. Too often in the past, missionaries have presented the Christian Gospel not in terms of the culture which they have found, but in terms of the culture they have brought with them. And too often missionary societies have been slow in handing over responsibility to the young churches, once they have attained to manhood. The idea of the National Church requires of missionary endeavor, first, that it should present Christ in terms which show Him to be not a foreign importation but one who belongs; and secondly, that responsibility for government and control should be handed over as soon as the young Church is able to stand on its own feet and manage its own affairs.

It is one of the signs of vitality of the Anglican Communion that more and more national churches within its fellowship are coming into being. Some are impatient to assume full responsibility for their own life. This is as it should be. And we should rejoice that, as this process gathers momentum, so the Anglican Communion is enriched, as the contribution of the nations are brought to the worship of Almighty God within the fellowship of One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Almighty and everlasting God, who didst illuminate the darkness of our night, and make known unto the Gentiles him who is the true Light and the bright and morning star: Fill, we beseech thee, the world with thy glory, and in thy splendour reign among the peoples; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.

IV

Future Opportunities and Problems

WE COME NOW to what is perhaps the most difficult part of our task, which is to peer into the future and to attempt to make some estimate of the opportunities and problems which confront our Church in the days to come. To make predictions about the future is always a risky and precarious business. It was never more so than today when the setting of man's life on this planet is changing so rapidly, when the scientific fiction of yesterday is the sober fact of today, when the factors which condition man's mind and behavior are making such rapid advances and daily becoming more powerful and effective. So we shall be well aware that anything we say about the future may at any moment undergo rapid shock which will necessitate radical and possibly rapid re-thinking in the light of changed circumstances.

Clearly I must attempt to deal with the subject under two headings, the one domestic, the other external. We have our own family problems and ambitions within the Anglican Communion, and we have our ideals as a body within the

whole Church of God, in the setting of our relationship to those other Communions from whom we are to some degree separate. We must make our estimate of the future hoping that the problems of the second set of circumstances may so soon be resolved that they will render internal problems obsolete; but also knowing that, while the full reunion of Christendom tarries, there will still be with us those questions of internal polity to be discussed and solved, in order that, in that capacity to which we believe God has called us, we may make ourselves as worthy instruments as possible for His service.

Let us then first consider the future prospects of our domestic affairs within the Anglican Communion. Here again I must exercise some caution, for since the Anglican Communion is a world-wide fellowship of churches embracing many different nationalities, each part, in its particular capacity, has problems which concern itself and can be solved only by its own members. Thus the problems of Church and State, such as arise in the Established Church of which I am a member, have a fraternal interest to other Anglicans, but are not a pressing concern. Similarly your Church has problems of a domestic nature about which you are better informed than I am, and upon which it would be impertinent for me to comment. Yet clearly there are hopes and fears which we share because of our common loyalties, and there are particular problems which in various guises, though they are fundamentally similar, confront the Anglican Communion as a whole, and it is to these that I would first of all devote some of our time.

I have no doubt that the first duty required of us all is the deepening and intensifying of the spiritual life of the Church, both in the lives of individuals and corporately in the fellowship of the Church. It may be said that this is always the concern of all Christians, and is not specifically an Anglican

problem; and in any case this is all so platitudinous as to be hardly worth saying. Perhaps that is true. Yet the temptations to think in terms other than religious are present with particular force in the Anglican Church, and we have to be on our guard especially against them. The Anglo-Saxon is by temperament morally rather than religiously inclined, and his religion has always had a strong moral tone. This has always been an inbred characteristic. It has been fostered by many great Anglican teachers, pre-eminently Archbishop Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1691-4, who through his preaching held before the English Church the ideal of Right Conduct, and planted in our forefathers a profound sense of duty. Now, of course, this emphasis on right standards of living is all to the good, for God requires them of us, since He Himself is righteous. But it is not the Christian religion. It can very easily lead to self-satisfaction, to a superior disregard of others, to a sluggishness in the fulfillment of religious obligation. I know of course that not all Anglicans are Anglo-Saxons. But the origins of our Communion have left their mark upon our Church and its characteristics. And we have constantly to be on our guard against the temptation to think that when we have done our duty, when we are leading decent moral lives, then we have done all that is required of us. Whereas Our Lord reminds us that even when we have done our duty, we are still unprofitable servants.

The first duty of the Church the world over is to recapture its sense of the numinous, that is to say the presence of Almighty God, no less *awe*-ful because it is loving. In a world where the pressure of the material is so great, and daily becoming more intense, we have to learn that the first duty of Christians is to worship and the first claim upon their time is to pray. We Anglicans have much on which we may rely for guidance and help in this quest, for the Book of Common

Prayer came into existence in a materialistic age, and had as one of its objectives the recalling of men to a worship of the most high God. Prayer Book worship, measured, austere, intelligible, beautiful, is a means admirably devised to lead us and to train us in worship. It avoids both exotic devotion to a particular cult on the one hand, and a chatty over-familiarity with the Almighty on the other. It "disinfects us from egoism," teaching us to forget ourselves as we lose ourselves in the love and service of God. It is an excellent way by which, both by public and private use, we can learn "the practice of the presence of God," and train ourselves to relate our duties and our needs to the claims of God's service.

With a deeper sense of spiritual things there would come, I have no doubt, the answer to many of the major problems which confront Anglicans the world over. The last Lambeth Conference revealed the fact that, though they may differ in degree and intensity, the various provinces of the Anglican Communion are all faced with the same fundamental problems. These may be summed up in the two words—manpower and money. Had we the men available to send into the field, and had we the funds to pay them, to train them and to provide the Church with the equipment needed for evangelistic and pastoral work, there would be no limit to the opportunities for extending the kingdom of God.

In these matters you are no doubt well acquainted with your domestic situation. Suffice it to say here that, however you may be dissatisfied with your own record, you in the Protestant Episcopal Church are regarded by the rest of the Anglican Communion as an example of what can be done. We rejoice in the vigor with which you have faced these problems, and the generosity with which you help others.

I would therefore ask your indulgence if I say a word about these matters as they affect that branch of the Anglican Communion in which I serve. We enjoy the benefits of having

been the accepted majority Church for many centuries, and also we suffer from many consequences of this situation. The position of the Church of England in the life of the English people gives us many privileges which may be used to advantage in declaring the place and purpose of religion in the life of a nation. It gives us many contacts with people which otherwise would be denied to us.

But privilege enjoyed over a long period may be a dangerous thing, and to be an accepted part of the Establishment can lead to indifference and lack of enthusiasm. The Church has always had to be on its guard against allowing itself to be so deeply involved with the secular order that it becomes identified with it. The major problems with which the Church of England is at present concerned stem from the fact that it has for so long been part of the fabric of society that, now that society itself is changing its face, the Church has to reassess its position and policy.

These changes vitally affect the supply of men and money. In the past the Church of England has not had to bother about a problem of manpower. Ordination was regarded as a proper and suitable profession for a gentleman. At least one son from the families of the gentry would seek Holy Orders, and he had his recognized and honored place in society. Now all is changed. There is no longer an automatic and never-failing source of supply for the ministry. In our society as it is developing there are so many more posts available which require managerial ability, a sense of vocation, a readiness to serve. The clergy no longer occupy a position of special authority in the community.

Similarly, as regards money, the Church of England has benefited in the past from the capital endowments of wealthy and generous patrons. And where those sources were not available, there were generally a few well-to-do folk who would foot the parish bill at the end of the year. Now the

wealthy are no more. Other great charitable institutions—medicine, art, education, for instance—compete for the gifts available to those in need. The Church has got into the habit of relying on the past or the few in the present, and it is not a comfortable process to realign one's conception of Christian giving and to have to learn in the school of bitter experience that, as in other things, so in religion, one can only have such spiritual ministrations as one is ready to pay for.

Nevertheless, as far as my own country is concerned, I have no doubt but that these pains are healthy and not mortal; they are the birth pains of a revivified church life and not the death agony of an outworn institution. When we have relearnt, as all Christians must do from time to time, a sense of vocation throughout the whole Church, ordained and lay, and when we have discovered the joy of Christian giving, then, I do not doubt, we shall find new sources of strength in the gifts of God's Holy Spirit which are thereby released.

Nevertheless it is clear that, whatever our particular national attitudes, the whole Anglican Communion is being called by God to new and courageous thought about the place and purpose of the ministry in the Church of God, and the means for providing for it. The Church has, from its earliest days, been plagued by what has been forcibly called "the curse of clericalism." Whether or not this language is too strong, it is not for me to say. It is, however, sure that by relying upon a whole-time professional ministry to take the lead and to do most of the work, the Church has lost the sense of the ministry as a task laid upon the whole body, to be exercised, in different functions it is true, but equally, by the ordained and the non-ordained members. If we can recapture a true sense of ministry as a service performed by all members of the Body of Christ, and if we can spread the

sense of responsibility for evangelism, for pastoral oversight, for making provision for the fellowship, so that these things are seen and accepted as the duty of all, then there will come into the Church a new power and effectiveness which no earthly forces can gainsay.

At the same time there must be within the Church those whole-time ordained orders to which is entrusted in a special sense the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. The ability of the clergy to fulfill these special functions will be greatly facilitated by a wider vision of the ministry of all the faithful: this, properly understood, will result in the lifting from the shoulders of the clergy of the burden of many tasks which are now generally expected of them, but which in fact do not belong specifically to their order and could as well be done by others.

But as well I believe it to be essential for the good of the Church that there should be a wide, courageous and imaginative extension of the scope of the ordained ministry. Speaking of my own Church (and I have no doubt these things apply elsewhere), I do not believe we shall in measurable time, if ever, return to the palmy days at the beginning of this century, when twenty-four thousand clergymen ministered to a population of thirty-one million: that is, one clergyman per thirteen hundred head of the population. As I have already suggested, there are so many other occupations opening out demanding a sense of vocation, with powers of leadership and an opportunity for service. But at the same time as there is a drying-up in the conventional sources of supply for the ministry, new opportunities are becoming available. The coming of automation and the rapid mechanization of industrial processes must involve short working hours and greater provision of leisure. The time is approaching when work, so far from being the major claim upon man's time, will come to be regarded merely as an incident in his life. For his health

and happiness it will be essential that he should employ this leisure time creatively. Here then will be an opportunity that the Church must not miss. We must employ, in the service of the Church, the energy, skill and knowledge which the reorganization of industry will set free. This will involve a recognition of what is called "supplemental ministry," that is to say, an ordained ministry by those who do not serve whole-time, who earn their living in a secular occupation, but who offer their lives at all times in a special sense to God, and whose leisure is largely devoted to the ministerial functions within the Church. The supplemental ministry poses certain problems to the Church. There are problems of training. There are the difficulties of preserving that essential element of "separateness" in the life of the priest. There are the temptations to avoid that singleness of purpose which the Ordinal enjoins upon those who are ordained: "that you will apply yourselves wholly to this one thing, and draw all your cares and studies this way." But these are not insuperable difficulties. And if we are prepared to admit those who are members of the teaching and medical professions to the priesthood, why should we not similarly permit priest-scientists, priest-technicians, priest-business men? If it were indeed possible for the Church to plan and act along these lines, I believe that the result would be not only a relief of the burden now being borne by the clergy, but, more important, a penetration into secular life by the Church which would go far to close the gap between the religious and secular world, to uplift standards of moral behavior, and to bring the sweetening influence of the Spirit of God into the daily life and work of ordinary people.

On the matter of Christian giving I have little to say here, for you know more about it and put your beliefs into practice in a way which is an example to the rest of the Church. I must limit myself to one or two remarks which have largely been

learnt from you, and which, so I believe, the Church is accepting to the great benefit of its life, spiritually as well as materially. First let us not forget that Christian giving is not an entity in itself, to be sought for itself. It is a product of Christian vocation. Just as, in so far as the whole Body of Christ has a clear sense of vocation to God's service, men and women will be called to the special vocation of the ordained ministry or whole-time service, so, in so far as the whole body sees its duty to give to God a part of what every man holds from God, the Church will be provided with what it needs. Secondly, it is right to stress, not what the Church needs for the fulfillment of its special objectives, but what each individual should give to God. I think, the world over, Churchmen are becoming tired of endless appeals for innumerable special requirements. If we can learn to give what we recognize we owe to God, then undoubtedly we shall provide enough to meet all the immediate commitments of our parish or diocese, and still have enough to give to the many claims which the universal Church makes upon us. And thirdly, we need to remember that giving is of the essence of the Christian life: it is not an extra, nor a responsibility required only of the wealthy. The readiness to give is an excellent yardstick by which to judge the spiritual effectiveness of a Church. The reluctance to give according to means is a sure mark of spiritual impoverishment. That is why many parishes have found spiritual regeneration through the discovery of how to give. With the adoption of some scheme of Christian giving, new life has been brought to a parish which had been barren and ineffective in the service of Christ's kingdom.

We have considered some of the opportunities which offer themselves to the Anglican Communion within the confines of its own life. But just as a parish may be held to be at fault if it concerns itself only with its domestic affairs and

lacks a vision of what waits to be done outside its own boundaries, so any part of the Church Universal may be held to be guilty if it is not as much concerned with its relationship with other Christian Communions as it is with its own polity and organization. We believe that Our Lord intends that His Church shall be one. Woe betide any part of His Church which does not seek to heal the wounds in His Body and to promote the reunion of His Church.

The destiny of the Anglican Communion is therefore inextricably bound up with the destiny of Christ's Church here on earth. The future to which Anglicanism looks forward is nothing less than the visible organic unity of the Church in this world, a Church in which all Christian men hold the same truths to be sacred, acknowledge a generally accepted authority, worship together and speak with one voice to the world. This is the ideal for which we pray and for which we are compelled, by our loyalty to Jesus Christ, to work unremittingly.

What then is the pattern of the Church to which we may look forward? The consideration which we have already given to the meaning of a "National Church" will provide us with the clue. Just as in international politics we look forward to a state of affairs in which nations live in comity with one another and enrich each other by their particular characteristics and gifts, so we look forward to the Church Universal emerging along the same lines. As Archbishop William Temple remarked, "Reunion, when it comes, will not come by way of absorption . . . nor by mere agreement to differ, but by the mutual understanding and mutual appreciation which makes possible a real synthesis of all that is precious in all the uniting traditions."¹

The Lambeth Conference of 1948 put the point more specifically. It said, "As Anglicans we believe that God has entrusted to us in our Communion not only the Catholic

Faith, but a special service to render to the whole Church. Reunion of any part of our Communion with other denominations in its own area must make the resulting Church no longer simply Anglican, but something more comprehensive. There would be, in every country where there now exist the Anglican Church and others separated from it, a united Church, Catholic and Evangelical, but no longer in the limiting sense of the word "Anglican." The Anglican Communion would be merged in a much larger Communion of National or Regional Churches, in full communion with one another . . ."

In other words, as, under the guidance of God the Holy Spirit, those parts of Christ's Church which are now separate come to seek and to find reunion with one another, so we shall see the emergence of churches which transcend and are fuller and greater than any of the constituent parts, but yet preserve and value all that is good and God-given in the traditions and teaching of the bodies which participate in the united Church. This of course involves Anglicanism in the same measure as it involves any other participant. We who love our Church and value its ethos and character must not think that the future pattern of the Church Universal will be that of the Anglican Communion imposed upon everybody else. Nor do we contemplate the death of the Anglican Church. But we should look forward to the day when all that our Church stands for will take its place in the Church which preserves and lives by all that is good in the traditions of all parts of Christendom. So, in that noble statement of the 1920 Lambeth Conference on Unity, the vision was set before us: "That of a Church, genuinely Catholic, loyal to all truth and gathering into its fellowship all 'who profess and call themselves Christians,' within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common and made

serviceable to the whole Body of Christ. Within this unity Christian Communions now separated from one another would retain much that has long been distinctive in their methods of worship and service."

Meanwhile the dark cloud of disunion hangs over the Church, stultifying many of its efforts, causing the enemy to rejoice, giving hostages to fortune. Though the divisions of Christendom are in large measure attributable to prejudice, they are fundamentally due to firmly held principles; and therefore we negotiate with one another, not on the presupposition that those with whom we disagree are being tiresome and pigheaded, but on the assumption that, like ourselves, they hold certain principles to be so sacred that for their sake even separation from one another must be tolerated for the time being. In the quest for reunion it is therefore essential that there should be honest appraisal of the position which we hold, so that we may disentangle the essential from the non-essential. In our negotiations with Communions from which we are now separate, what, we may ask, are those things which Anglicans believe to be the essentials for which they must stand firm, and for which even the scandal of disunion must be accepted?

For the answer, we look to the American Protestant Episcopal Church, to the General Convention, which about the year 1888 adopted a statement of essentials which was later to be accepted by the third Lambeth Conference, and came to be known as the "Lambeth Quadrilateral." This fourfold standard lays down the essential marks of the true Church. It must teach that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation and are the rule and ultimate standard of faith. It must accept the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith. It must minister the two sacraments ordained by our Lord Himself—Baptism and Holy Com-

munion. And it must possess the Historic Episcopate, if need be locally adapted to the varying needs of nations and peoples. It is on the basis of these criteria that Anglicans enter into negotiations with other Christian bodies for the reunion of the Church.

This century has seen a wonderful advance in the cause of reunion and, though much remains to be accomplished, there is yet much for which we should be profoundly thankful. Not only have old prejudices been removed and bitterness made sweet, but many definite steps have been taken towards that organic unity for which we pray. In this work the Anglican Communion has taken a notable part. For that part we are particularly well qualified, for we have, so to speak, a foot in both camps. Preserving Catholic faith and order we can appreciate and interpret the sentiments and beliefs of those whose origins and life are rooted in the ancient Catholic order of Christendom. Being ourselves a reformed Church, we share in the attitude of mind of those whose life stems from the confessional systems of Luther and Calvin. The claim that we are a "bridge Church," and have special advantages to offer in the cause of reunion, is still a valid one, and one which imposes special responsibilities upon us. We Anglicans can claim that we have taken a full part in this important work. Indeed, Bishop Stephen Neill, the historian of the movement for reunion in Christendom, has told of his embarrassment, as an Anglican, in having to record, time and time again, how in some particular move towards reunion the Anglicans have taken a leading role in initiating and continuing the work of discussion and action. Certainly in all these efforts our Communion has taken a part of which we have no cause to be ashamed. Thus, at every Lambeth Conference since 1888, the unity of the Church has received careful consideration. In the Ecumenical Movement, called by Archbishop William Temple in his

enthronement sermon "the great new fact of our era," in the World and National Councils of Churches, in the Conferences of the International Missionary Council, the Faith and Order movement, and other united efforts, Anglicans have taken a leading part. We are on terms of intimate friendship with the Orthodox Churches of the East. We have close relationships with, and where needed give help and encouragement to, the various non-Roman episcopal Churches, such as the Old Catholics, the Swedish Church, the Lusitanian Church of Portugal, the Reformed Episcopal Church of Spain, and the Philippine Independent Church. There are many informal and friendly contacts with Roman Catholics, and we join our prayers with them that the Ecumenical Council, which Pope John XXIII is summoning, will result in action which may pave the way for ultimate reunion between the Roman and other Communions. In the many conversations with other Christian bodies, Anglicans have taken an active share in initiation and participation. And in the schemes for reunion which have either been brought into existence or are on the point of implementation, the Anglican Church has been one of the uniting churches. This is a fine record of which we may reasonably be proud.

In these schemes—The Church of South India, the Plan for North India and Pakistan, and the Scheme for Ceylon—Anglicans have negotiated on the basis of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. There would appear to have been no great difficulty over the first three of its requirements. All the participating Churches have been able to accept our insistence upon Holy Scripture, the Creeds and the Sacraments. The major problem in these cases, as elsewhere, has been upon our insistence in preserving the Historic Episcopate, as the guarantee of a valid ministry in the Church and the sheet anchor of its order and discipline.

This is not the time or place for a full scale discussion on

the place of the episcopal order in the Church of God. All we need say now is that the Anglican Communion, true to its origins, regards the office of a Bishop as the God-given agency through which the Church shall be governed and provided with the ministry it needs, and through which also the purity of the Faith shall be preserved. This is made abundantly clear, both in the Order for the Consecration of a Bishop and in the introductory rubrics of the Ordinal. The office of a Bishop is, so we hold, not merely a function, but an order. The Consecration of a Bishop confers not merely a commission to carry out certain duties, but a character. We are therefore unable to abandon our insistence upon a validly consecrated episcopate and a validly ordained ministry, because we believe this is God's will for His Church, this is the way in which the Church has been ordered from earliest days, and this is the only hope for a universally recognized authority in a United Christendom which will enfold both Catholic and Protestant elements.

This does not, of course, mean that by our insistence on episcopacy we seek to 'unchurch' those who belong to non-episcopal Communions. Indeed, the Lambeth Conference of 1920 specifically stated that Anglicans recognize the ministries of non-episcopal Churches as possessing "spiritual reality," and "having been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace." But if the whole of Christendom is indeed genuinely looking beyond its present denominationalism to a truly united Church, then that Church must possess "a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body." Anglicans believe that the Episcopate can alone provide such a ministry, and therefore feel themselves justified in insisting that it must form one of the bedrock conditions on which reunification can take place.

It is a matter of great joy for us, as indeed it is a measure of the self-sacrifice of other participating churches, that in the schemes for reunion which have been or are in the process of being implemented, the episcopate is recognized and an episcopally ordained ministry is incorporated in the scheme. Moreover there has been a developing recognition of the importance of episcopacy. The first such scheme, that for South India, possesses a valid order of Bishops, but did not at its inauguration integrate the other orders of ministry: so today there are episcopally and non-episcopally ordained ministers side by side. And though all ministers since the inauguration of the Church of South India are episcopally ordained, it will be some years before the ministry is fully valid from a Catholic point of view. But in the new schemes for North India, Pakistan and Ceylon, it is intended that from the start the ministry at episcopal and presbyteral level shall be integrated, and from the inauguration the new churches shall have episcopacy and an episcopally ordained ministry. We welcome the fact that in the scheme for North India and Pakistan it is the desire and intention that the Bishops shall possess such authority that "no member thereof may have cause to question their authority, or to entertain any doubt or scruple in recognizing and acknowledging them as Bishops in the Church of God."

In these schemes for reunion before the Church there are anomalies and there are risks. But so long as the participating bodies and their parent bodies are satisfied about the *bona fides* of the new churches, and have good grounds for believing that the reunited Church has the firm intention of being and doing what the Catholic Church and the Catholic Faith require of them, than I believe that, for the sake of union, we are justified in taking those risks and wishing Godspeed to the participants.

The Church of South India is already an accomplished

fact. North India, Pakistan and Ceylon will soon follow. Others are on the way. We thank God that it has been possible for Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists and others to bring their contribution together in this way. We long for Christians in other lands to copy their example. But there are factors in the older Christian countries which will inevitably make progress a slower and more costly business. But because, for us of the older churches, reunion is still far ahead, that is no reason for us to part barriers in the way of those younger churches who with some reason are impatient with the older countries for imposing their divisions upon them. Clearly the varying pace of achieving reunion means that for a long period there will be a time of dis-ease, as reunion goes ahead more rapidly in some parts than in others. From the Anglican standpoint this will mean that more and more dioceses will go out of the Anglican family, though it is hoped that they may remain in full communion with us. This will inevitably affect the character of the Anglican Communion itself, and it will be reflected in, for instance, the constitution and function of the Lambeth Conference. But these things will be, and we must accept them and be challenged by them. If it is possible for Christians of different confessions to find a basis for reunion in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, then it should be possible in Great Britain or the United States of America.

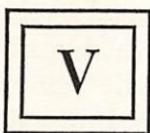
We therefore of the older Christian countries must see that in this matter we are being taught and led by our children in the Faith. We must press on with conversations and negotiations with those separate from us, in order that we too may discover the bases on which we can build the Church of God that is to be. The Christians of the East have been driven to unite by the intense pressure of paganism upon the tiny Christian Church: a situation which has made clear to them the sin and folly of their disunion. The Church of the

West has not yet felt such a pressure, but the same paganism is there. And it may well be that the power of darkness will so shake us out of our self-complacency that we shall appreciate the wickedness and scandal of the divisions of Christendom, and learn a new urgency in their healing.

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace: Give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord; that, as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O God, who biddest us dwell with one mind in thine house: Of thy mercy put away from us all that causeth us to differ, that through thy bountiful goodness we may keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Eternal and merciful God, who art the God of peace and not of discord: Have mercy upon thy Church, divided in thy service; and grant that we, seeking unity in Christ, and in the truth of thy holy word, with one mind and one mouth may glorify thee, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.



The Character of the Anglican Communion

WE HAVE reached the point when we must try to gather up the lines of thought that we have been pursuing and to make some evaluation of the heritage we have received, the situation in which we find ourselves, and the contribution we have to make to the future as members of the Anglican Communion. During this week we have cast our minds back to the earliest days of the Faith and seen how the Gospel was planted in the British Isles by Celtic and Roman missionaries, who braved the dangers of a rude and uncivilized corner of the world, who fought and overcame the pagan culture and religion which they found there, and who eventually grafted the *ecclesia anglicana* into the main stream of Western Catholicism. We have marked the deep and widespread revolution which entered men's affairs as the Middle Ages came to an end, and have seen how in England the religious aspect of that revolution, the Reformation, assumed a unique character which has left its mark to this day firmly implanted upon the faith and worship of the Anglican Communion.

The Church of England never abandoned its hold upon the truth proclaimed and the order possessed by the Catholic Church. But it was reformed in the light of the new knowledge and the new spirit which were burning in men's hearts. It remained faithful to all that was true in what was inherited from the past; it threw off those accretions which had gathered round and largely obscured the Faith once delivered; it went on its way refined and cleansed for the work God had entrusted to it.

We have seen how the peculiar nature of the English Reformation placed the English Church in a position of isolation, which nevertheless was to prove of advantage in its development and growth. Cut off from the mainstream of Western Catholicism by its rejection of Papal Supremacy, while at the same time out of sympathy with those Continental Reformers who desired to sever all connections with the past and to start the life of the Church afresh without the encumbrances of ties or bonds inherited from the old Church, the Church of England became conscious and proud of itself, and her members were glad to carry her traditions and discipline with them when they traversed the globe. They implanted the Bible, the Prayer Book and the Order of the English Church wherever they settled.

So the beginnings of the Anglican Communion were laid. At first unplanned and with no intention of creating a worldwide Church, the English Church was planted first here, then there. It was not till the nineteenth century, a little over a century ago, that the various parts of the Anglican Communion awoke to their duty of missionary endeavor, to the charge laid upon every Christian to preach the Gospel to every creature. So there started that magnificent chapter of Anglican history when, under the inspiration of an immense missionary compulsion, men and women in their hundreds left their homes, parted with their friends, went to strange

countries and in circumstances which were often dangerous, and nearly always uncomfortable and trying, preached the glad news of Christ's Gospel.

A little later, and largely inspired by the experiences of those who had worked in the mission field, the Church became conscious of the sin of Christian disunity. If at home in the older Christian countries the Church had become used to division and accepted its scandal as an inevitable misfortune, the spirit was very different in those spheres where the Gospel was being preached *de novo*. There the missionaries saw how their efforts were being frustrated by disunion and how ridicule was brought upon the fair name of the Church in the eyes of non-Christians. Moreover, the native Christians resented the introduction of the squabbles and differences of Western Christendom into their own countries. So, in this century has come throughout Christendom the desire to seek for the reunion of the Church, and for the closest cooperation between Christians until that goal is achieved. In this work of cooperation and reunion the Anglican Communion has a part of special importance to play. It has with justification been described as a "bridge Church," holding together the traditions of the old and the new. As such it is equipped to interpret the one to the other, to commend both sides to each other. But in so doing it must itself be transformed. Every separated Church is involved in the demands which must be met, and the sacrifices made, no less than in the ultimate glory which will result from a truly united Church. So the Anglican Communion is charged with the responsibility of examining itself afresh, of separating in its thinking the essential from the nonessential, of preparing itself for the day when, true to its own genius, it will bring its contribution into the fullness of the Church, restored as we believe it is God's will that it should be, to visible

organic unity, preaching with one voice the Gospel entrusted to it.

These tides of fortune and changing circumstances have left their mark upon the practice and life of the Anglican Communion. Its various provinces have much in which they differ from one another. But yet there is a deep unity which binds them together. What are these things which unite us, despite our differing nationalities, our contrasted practices, our separate historical development? What is the underlying character which we know, sometimes definitely, sometimes inarticulately, and which we value? Let us try to uncover them. And let us attempt to do so by considering in our Anglican life the place of three sets of contrasted characteristics—Catholic and Reformed, Rigorism and Toleration, Authority and Freedom.

The Anglican Communion is both Catholic and Reformed; that is to say, it preserves in its tradition the unbroken life of the Church through the Apostles to Our Lord Himself. But it is also an inheritor of the currents of thought which at the Reformation brought a recovery of those elements of belief and practice which had been forgotten or had been smothered by developments in the life of the Church over the centuries.

The existence in the life of our Church of these two streams of tradition has led to a state of tension and sometimes of conflict between those who lean towards one or the other side. Thus we are familiar with the strain from time to time between the High Church and Low Church parties: between those who claim the title Catholic and those who call themselves Evangelicals: between those members of the Anglican Communion who consider it proper to call themselves Protestants, and those who hold that this title is more suited to the people who accept whole-heartedly the position taken by the Continental Reformers in the sixteenth century—a position with which the Church of England refused de-

liberately to identify itself unconditionally. So we are bound in honesty to ask if the Anglican Communion is being unrealistic in attempting to hold together two points of view which, it might be held, are in fact irreconcilable.

It was this problem which the former Bishop of London, Dr. Wand, dealt with in the notable address he gave at the Anglican Congress held at Minneapolis in 1954. He pointed out that the tension between the so-called Catholic outlook and the so-called Evangelical outlook is not a regrettable heritage from the controversies of the Reformation period, but is a consequence of elements essential to the very nature of religion itself. Man may think of God in two ways: either as outside the Universe, creating it from nothing; or as within the Universe, creating it as the embodiment of His own creative power. That is to say, we may think of God as transcendent; or we may think of Him as immanent. In point of fact, Christian thought should enfold both points of view, for we should think of God as Creator, as He is pictured in Genesis; and we should think of Him as Sustainer, the Holy Spirit at work the whole time within His universe.

These two points of view produce certain reactions within the life of the believer. If he thinks of God as primarily transcendent, outside and above His universe, then his approach will in the main be through the act of faith: the creature approaching the Creator: and he will emphasize the Christian doctrine of the atonement, the act of the mighty God in love towards His erring children. If, on the other hand, the believer tends to stress the immanence of God, then he will emphasize the doctrine of grace, the power of the Holy Spirit at work within creation to guide and to make holy the children of God. He will find special help in the doctrine of the Incarnation, of God revealing Himself within the created order; he will lay emphasis upon the importance of the Church as the Body of Christ, the divinely appointed

instrument for imparting God's grace; and he will specially value the sacramental life and worship of the Church.

These two points of view need to be kept carefully in balance, lest the Faith should become distorted. But in the Middle Ages this is what men failed to do. The Church, in its fight against worldly powers, assumed not only spiritual but temporal power. It became institutionally minded, so concerned with its interior organization that it obscured the primary need that men must first be reconciled to God through faith. It was in protest against this distortion that Martin Luther took his stand. He sought to restore to the teaching of the Church the necessity for a warm and lively faith in God by which man alone may be saved.

The reaction which Luther set in motion was, in the nature of things, to become exaggerated. Men came to preach that faith was the only thing needed. And they belittled the place of grace and the institutional life of the visible Church. So the pendulum swung too far in the other direction. And it is precisely this lack of balance which the Church of England has refused to countenance. We have within our life Evangelicals who stress the need for faith as the source of the saving power of Christ; we have Catholics, who stress the need for God's grace in giving power to live the Christian life, and who specially value the ordered and disciplined worship of the Church and the sacraments dispensed within its fellowship. Of course, the contrast is seldom as marked and as bald as I have put it. The important thing is to remember that this tension is not something invented at the Reformation: it is implicit in the very nature of religion itself. And any Church which claims to proclaim the fullness of the truth must teach both aspects of the truth and hold them in balance.

The existence within the Anglican Communion of the Catholic and Reformed tradition is not therefore, as is some-

times asserted, a desperate attempt, for the sake of peace, to hold together two irreconcilable points of view. It is not peace at any price. The English Reformation was, as has been rightly said, a comprehension and not a compromise. It was the legitimate attempt to bring together once more in proper balance the worship of the transcendent God through the act of faith, and the worship of the immanent God through grace given in the life of the Church of Christ and its worship. It was not an unrealistic attempt to have the best of two incompatible worlds.

We need constantly to bear in mind that the Anglican Communion attempts, for the sake of the truth and for no other reason, a synthesis between the Catholic and the Evangelical point of view. The danger is that we give to the world the impression that we are divided and do not know our own minds. We must avoid giving our critics that impression. For indeed the ideal which the Anglican Communion holds up before its members is that every Catholic should be an Evangelical, and every Evangelical a Catholic. Then we shall show to the world the fullness of the Christian life which is possessed and taught by the genius of Anglicanism.

It is in large measure because of its experiences in history that the Anglican Communion has learnt the lessons of toleration towards others. Our Church does not claim to possess an infallible source of the truth which in matters of faith and morals can speak without fear of error. We can find no justification in the teaching of Jesus Christ or in any other part of scripture for such a belief. Therefore we are prepared to accept the fact that we may possibly be wrong. As Article XIX states, "As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch, have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

This difference of approach has well been stated in the

aphorism, "The Church of Rome presumptuously claims for itself infallibility. The Church of England is more modest, and claims only that it is right." There is here a difference of spirit which reflects itself forcibly in character and behavior. If you believe in the existence of an infallible voice, then you are bound to be a rigorist. You must accept the authority of that voice implicitly and be unwaveringly obedient to it. You may allow no discussion on the opinions it expresses.

Whereas, if you are more modest, and merely claim that you are right, you will have a different approach. You will admit the possibility that you may be wrong. So you will be tolerant towards the opinions of others so long as they are honestly held, even though they differ from your own. You will be prepared to enter upon debate and discussion with others of different opinions, so that you may at the same time test your own viewpoint and also seek to persuade others of the rightness of your own cause. You will be firm in holding those things that you are persuaded are right. You will not hesitate to condemn what you believe to be wrong or erroneous. But you will do so in the spirit of love rather than censoriousness. And you will be prepared to admit that there are some things about which no answer has been given, and therefore you will have to admit that in certain problems you do not know the answer.

This spirit of "sweet reasonableness" is one of the clearest marks of Anglicanism. We have learnt through our history to be charitable: to be slow to wrath, slow to anger. While the confessional statements of other Communions have tended to get angry and to hurl condemnations and anathemas against those who disagree, our formularies have a calmness and balance which many find refreshing and pleasing. It is true that we set our bounds beyond which no man may stray without forfeiting his right to membership of the Church.

But those bounds are not arbitrarily set. They are the teachings of Christ as interpreted by the Catholic tradition of the Church. As the Archbishop of Canterbury has said, "There are no specifically Anglican doctrines. We hold as the faith only that which evidently appears as such in the Scriptures and in the Creeds." But he goes on to say, ". . . there is a specifically Anglican temper of mind and heart which our history has fashioned in us—a charity of judgment—and it is this that we are called upon to maintain."¹

Let me illustrate this tolerance of mind and spirit which is so typical of the Anglican temper by giving you three instances. Note first how our formularies refuse to define where definition is not possible, but rather are content to quote the words of scripture. Of Christ the Thirty-nine Articles say, "He came to be the Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world, and sin, as St. John saith, was not in him." Of the Holy Communion, "the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." Of works of Supererogation, "whereas Christ saith plainly, 'When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say We are unprofitable servants.' " It is wise, we believe, in matters of controversy, to confine ourselves to the words of scripture, and let them speak to us with the authority they possess.

Next, note the way Anglicanism instructs us how we ought to honor the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord. Rightly and properly we offer the deepest devotion and honor to the lowly maiden, who because of her purity and obedience was found meet for the high privilege of being Christ's mother. Our calendar gives prominent place to those feast days which commemorate incidents in her life. The honor paid to her has undoubtedly brought much spiritual and moral advantage to Christians. But we are bound to

mark that in the Scriptures there is a profound reticence in all the references to our Lady. The person whom we might have expected to have occupied a place second only to Our Lord Himself is mentioned only on rare occasions. May we not assume that this reticence was a consequence of the wish of the Blessed Virgin Mary herself? The Anglican Communion inherits and respects the reticence shown in Scripture, and though not a whit less eager than others to honor the pure and humble maid, yet refuses to speculate about her, or to raise to the status of dogma those incidents about the Virgin that can of their very nature be only legendary.

Finally, as typical of the Anglican way of stating the truth, mark the way we teach about the supreme mystery of what happens to the bread and wine at consecration in the Holy Communion. We set our bounds regarding what may or may not be held or taught. On the one hand we deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or the changing of the substance of bread and wine, because this cannot be proved from Holy Scripture, and it overthrows the nature of a sacrament. On the other hand we deny that the Holy Communion is *merely* a bare commemoration of the death of Christ, or *merely* a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another. That is Zwinglianism. Between those limits we do not seek to define or to require subscription. Rather we repeat the words of Christ and, in the Catechism, state the fact that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken, so pointing out, as a poem attributed to Queen Elizabeth I reminds us,

His was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what his word doth make it,
That I believe, and take it.

These instances illustrate the way in which Anglicanism teaches the truth, and requires acceptance of it from its members. We believe we are right. We proclaim fearlessly the truth revealed to us. And we are content and glad to allow the truth to commend itself and to create the conditions within which the Holy Spirit may continue, as he has promised, to lead us into a fuller understanding of God's nature and His purpose for His children.

This characteristic of Anglicanism obviously has considerable dangers. In our desire to avoid the pitfall of rigorism we may easily fall victim to lawlessness. In our refusal to accept any system of spiritual dictatorship we may imagine that we are subject to no law. In belying the stern discipline of authoritarian government we may become flabby and indefinite. The criticism is often levelled against Anglicanism that we do not know what we believe, that we speak with an indistinct voice, that we lack discipline. We must be prepared to meet such criticism. And we shall do so most effectively if we have a grasp upon the Anglican approach to the problem of the relationship between authority and freedom.

This problem is not confined to religious life. It is as old as man himself. For man is a social animal: he is never separate from his fellow beings. In the family, in the school, in the club, in the community, in the nation, as a member of the human race, a man's life cannot be lived in isolation. He must live to himself; and he must live to other people. The question which must be solved, however, is how much of himself may he keep to himself; how much must he subject to the will and authority of others? Upon his reaching a satisfactory answer to that dilemma depends not only his personal happiness, but also the welfare of the group of which he is a constituent part.

We are all familiar with the differing interpretations which men have from time to time placed upon the problem of

equating the claims of the community and the rights of the individual. History has seen varying states of tyranny, that form of government in which rulers have obtained or sought to obtain complete control over the lives of individuals, so that, as far as it can be achieved, the ruler has become the sole source of any rights which the individual may be allowed to possess, the sole arbiter of justice, the sole claimant of complete obedience. Under such conditions the solution to the problem of the conflicting rights of community and individual is found by granting all rights to the one, and none to the other.

On the other hand, history can also illustrate the opposite to tyranny, in the claims of groups in society and individuals to regard themselves as beyond the authority of the law, and to go their own way, guided only by self-interest, regardless of the rights of others or the common weal. In such instances individuals attempt as far as it is possible to claim complete independence, to behave and order their lives as they wish, and defy the law whenever it conflicts with self-interest.

Between these extremes our tradition of Western democracy attempts to find a norm, whereby the demands made upon individual freedom are reduced to a minimum, and man is permitted to do what he likes and say what he likes, so long as his action does not harm the welfare and the peace of the community of which he is a member.

We cannot draw an exact parallel between the state of affairs which exists in civil government, and the problem as it presents itself in determining the respective areas of authority in the religious life. Yet fundamentally the same dichotomy between the rights of the group to require subscription to its tenets and the rights of the individual to decide for himself are present within the religious sphere as they are in the civil. If men are called to live and practice their religion in fellowship, in a Church, then where lies the authority for

saying what shall or shall not be required of their membership?

As in civil government, so in the Church we find widely varying answers given to this problem. There is one system which claims absolute and complete submission on the part of the individual to the voice of the infallible authority of the Church. There are others which seek to give unbridled freedom to the individual conscience, and have no desire to limit or control it either by credal statements or ecclesiastical discipline.

Between these extremes the Anglican Communion attempts to steer a middle course. It believes that the Word of God has been spoken and is spoken, and it must be implicitly obeyed. It recognizes also that if a society of any kind is to thrive and prosper, it must have rules by which the individual surrenders some of his personal freedom of action and judgment so that the unfettered chaos of uncontrolled individualism may be avoided. The problem arises when it is asked who is to interpret the Word of God, and who is to decide the regulations? The Church, the Body of Christ, has its rights to define the boundaries of belief and behavior. But the individual possesses as an endowment from God the power to think and reason, the conscience to guide, and the right to freedom to do what conscience dictates. Indeed it is well to remember that the Reformers in the sixteenth century held that it was not merely desirable, but a positive duty, that man should exercise his gift of reason and enjoy freedom to follow his conscience. It is between these conflicting claims that Anglicanism seeks to find the way of the truth. Where does it find that truth?

The Lambeth Conference of 1948 expressed the belief of Anglicans quite clearly. It pointed out that the authority to which we should regard ourselves as subject is inherited from the undivided Church of the early centuries, is single, in that

it is derived from a single divine source, the Word of God, the Holy Trinity. This Word is recorded and described in Holy Scripture, which is the unique record of the revelation of God. It is defined in the Creeds of the Church Universal, and in the continuous study of scholars and thinkers. It is made available through the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments in the corporate life of the Church. It is verified both by the witness of the lives of the saints, and by the *consensus fidelium*, that is to say, by acceptance by the body of faithful people, free to judge, continuing down the centuries.

It is this system of tradition and grace which is placed before the private judgment of the individual, and it is for him to accept or reject. The individual, faced by what the Church offers him, stands at the bar of his own conscience. He is free to choose. Just as our Lord never compelled anyone to respond to His message, but drew men to Himself by the bands of His love, so does our Church seek to bring men to acknowledge Christ as Lord and Saviour by presenting Him in His goodness and beauty and allowing Him to draw men to Himself.

The Anglican Communion says, "You may," not "You must." And it is this characteristic of quiet persuasion which is the most notable and the most attractive quality in the make-up of our Church. You may see it at work at all levels of our life. It is perhaps most noteworthy at the top, in the constitution of the Lambeth Conference, which is the supreme assembly of our Communion. Although so influential, it has much of the spirit of a family party about it. The Bishops of the Anglican Communion from all over the world come together at the personal invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury. They meet every ten years, and deliberate for five weeks. They discuss not only matters of domestic concern, but also a wide range of subjects relating to the welfare of mankind and the impact of Anglicanism upon them. Thus

in 1958 the Lambeth Conference passed Resolutions on such a variety of subjects as relationships between nations and races, the impact of industry on family life, problems of population, the H-bomb, polygamy, refugees, and addiction to drugs and alcohol.

[We can do no more than mention the matter of cooperation and communication between the various provinces within the Anglican Communion. Undoubtedly in the past there has been an overlapping of effort and in some cases a lack of liaison between the provinces and dioceses of our Church. The Lambeth Conference has at official level gone far to provide a meeting place for Anglican leaders and a clearing house for their plans and ideas. But something more is needed than a gathering every ten years. The Lambeth Conference itself has recognized this, and the appointment of Bishop Stephen Bayne to be the executive officer of the Council on Missionary Strategy and of the Consultative Committee of the Lambeth Conference will, we all hope, mark a major advance in interprovincial relationships. Bishop Bayne is trusted and admired throughout the Anglican Communion. His appointment to this important office may well prove to be one of the most significant developments in Anglican history.—G.E.]

The Lambeth Conference issues a Report and Resolutions. Its findings carry no compulsion or legislative force. The Archbishop has no authority over those he has invited. Yet the firm decisions and advice given by the Conference carry immense weight not only for Anglicans, but for many outside our Communion. They do so because they are reached freely and are commended to the goodwill of Christians by the volume of prayer, scholarship and experience upon which they are built. The Lambeth Conference typifies the spirit of Anglicanism, its theory of authority and its method of work-

ing. It is that spirit which pervades the whole of our life down to the smallest mission district.

We must not think that because we place so great an emphasis upon the use of private judgment, we thereby hold out an easy way to our people. In one of his essays Archbishop Temple tells the story of a Roman Catholic who, when told that in the Church of England confession is available but not obligatory, replied, "What an easy religion!" How wrong he was. For, in point of fact, to place the onus of responsibility not upon the dictate of the Church, but upon the conscience of the individual, is to require the greater effort. It may give excuse for slackness. But it also gives opportunity for a higher form of self-discipline and self-sacrifice than can be called forth by compulsion. Indeed, to be a good Anglican one has got to be tough. One of our Church historians has said of John Henry Newman, the most tragic conversion from the Church of England to the Church of Rome: "The fundamental trouble . . . if I may borrow one of those expressive idioms for which the Old World is so much indebted to the New—is that he didn't have what it takes to be an Anglican."² To be an Anglican requires many qualities which even some men of highest religious genius have lacked. It requires the courage to apply the individual conscience to the challenge of the Faith; it needs the patience to wait till the answer to some problem not yet obvious is revealed, and the honesty on occasions to say, "I don't know." It needs the love to be tolerant with those whom we think misguided or foolish in the expression of their opinions. It needs the self-discipline to accept the demands of our faith, not because we are told we must do so, but because we believe such things to be true. Here is the true genius of Anglicanism; and it is very precious.

Let me conclude by telling about a sermon preached by Dr. George McLeod, a great leader in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, at the International Missionary Confer-

ence held in 1938 at Tambaram in South India. The delegates, drawn from almost all the Christian Communions, had spent many days discussing the nature of the Church. What is the Church? What are the marks of the true Church? And so on. On the Sunday at a great service Dr. McLeod preached to us. He said, "Those of you who know the city of Edinburgh will remember how it is dominated by the castle which stands high above the city. Edinburgh Castle is the personification of the history of Scotland, and from its windows has shone forth the light which has inspired Scotsmen of all ages. Now, he said, they have floodlit the castle from the outside, and no longer can the light within be seen."

You will see the point of his illustration. We at that conference had spent much time in observing the Church from outside; we had studied it somewhat in the manner of a biologist examining an anatomical specimen; we had dissected it, and had it all laid out before us. But in so doing we were in danger of forgetting that *we* were the Church. We were in a sense examining ourselves. And we needed to remind ourselves that if the light of the Gospel was to shine throughout the world, it must be not by flood-lighting the Church from outside but by allowing the light to shine from the Church of which we were the members to the world.

I have been conscious of a similar danger confronting us during these five nights we have spent together. We have been studying the Anglican Communion, its character and its future. We have for a time dissociated ourselves and looked at our Church from a detached point of view. What we must now, in these last minutes, remember is that we have not been as it were going round a museum, peering into glass cases, looking at mummies and other dead objects from the past. We have been trying to understand a living organism of which we are a part. It is we who have been under examination and are under judgment. For the Anglican Communion

ion has, for our purpose, no importance whatsoever unless it is seen as a significant part of the Body of Christ. Our faith is that the Anglican Communion is an incident in the eternal purposes of Almighty God for His children and His universe. And because you and I are part of that Communion, we have a place to occupy and a task to fulfill allotted by God, assigned to each one.

"Look unto the rock from whence ye were hewn," said the great prophet to the Israelites in captivity. "Look unto the rock from whence ye were hewn." This is the task we have attempted here not in order to kid ourselves that we are great merely because we have a great past; not in order to escape from the challenge of the present; but because by looking back, we have learnt that God never fails His people when they are faithful to Him. So we may look forward confidently to the future.

We Anglicans have a great past. In faith, in apostolic order, it stretches back in unbroken contact to our Lord Himself. On the long journey from Him to us it has known its sorrows and its glories. It has passed through the fire of persecution and the waters of cleansing. It rejoices in its saints and martyrs and teachers. But at each moment in history the greatness of the Anglican Communion is to be reckoned in terms, not of past triumphs, but of present faithfulness. And in this our own day the claim of the world upon the particular qualities which have been bred in us by God's providence is specially insistent. Mankind needs to understand the past, and to interpret its tradition and its lessons in the light of present knowledge. Mankind must search out the spirit by which men, firm in their own beliefs, yet are tolerant and generous towards the faith of others. Mankind must learn to practice that delicate balance between the claims of authority and the dictates of the individual conscience. These are immediate practical issues upon which hangs the very existence

of the human race upon this globe. They are issues which are well understood by Anglicans, for our Church has been through the fire to preserve those very truths.

If then under God our consideration of these things has achieved anything, such achievement is to be measured in terms of renewed faithfulness to the truths entrusted to us and firmer determination to be obedient to the voice of the faithful God who calls us. May that indeed be the blessing which we seek from God to whom alone belongs the glory, the majesty and the power.

*Teach thy servants and pilgrims, O King of Kings,
to walk trustfully in thy presence and to obey thy
majesty; that, while we journey to the heavenly
country, thy voice may encourage, thine arm pro-
tect and thy love transfigure us; through Jesus
Christ our Lord.*

Author's Notes

I: The Origin of the Anglican Communion

- 1 Smith, *Dean Church*, pp. 67f.
- 2 Moorman, *A History of the Church of England*, p. 157.
- 3 Hughes, *A Popular History of the Reformation*, p. 47.
- 4 Creighton, *The Church and the Nation*, p. 164.

II: The Foundations of Anglicanism

- 1 Carpenter, *Church and People. 1789-1889*, p. 471. Used by permission.
- 2 *Lambeth Conference Report*, p. 2. 1ff.
- 3 Mascall, *The Recovery of Unity*, pp. 4-5.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 5 Creighton, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

III: The Growth of the Anglican Communion

- 1 Ady, *The English Church*, p. 219.
- 2 Neill, *Anglicanism*, p. 217.
- 3 I am indebted to the Bishop of Brandon and the Rev. T. C. B. Boon, archivist of the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land, for this delightful incident in the history of the American Church.

- 4 Campbell, *Christian History in the Making*, p. 105. Used by permission.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 6 For the story of Bishop Hannington's martyrdom, see Warre Cornish, *A History of the English Church in the 19th Century*, Part 2, pp. 396ff.; Carpenter, *op cit.*, p. 451; Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- 7 For an account of Bishop Patteson, see Warre Cornish, *op. cit.*, pp. 415ff.
- 8 Garbett, *Claims of the Church of England*, p. 233. Used by permission.
- 9 Creighton, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

IV: Future Opportunities and Problems

- 1 Temple, *Religious Experience and Other Essays and Addresses*.

V: The Character of the Anglican Communion

- 1 *Canterbury Speaks*, Sermons and Speeches by the Archbishop of Canterbury, pp. 38-9.
- 2 Smyth, *Church and Parish*, p. 164.

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